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HISTORY OF THE MACLEODS.

INVERNESS : PRINTED AT THE "SCOTTISH HIGHLANDER" OFFICE.

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# HISTORY

OF THE

# MACLEODS

WITH

GENEALOGIES OF THE PRINCIPAL  
FAMILIES OF THE NAME.

BY

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, F.S.A. SCOT.,

AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY AND GENEALOGIES OF THE CLAN MACKENZIE"; "THE  
HISTORY OF THE MACDONALDS AND LORDS OF THE ISLES;" "THE HISTORY  
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AND LEGENDS OF THE HIGHLANDS;" "THE HISTORY  
OF THE HIGHLAND CLEARANCES;" "THE SOCIAL  
STATE OF THE ISLE OF SKYE IN 1882-83;"  
ETC., ETC.

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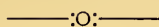


TO  
LACHLAN MACDONALD, ESQUIRE  
OF SKAEBOST,  
THE BEST LANDLORD IN THE HIGHLANDS,  
THIS  
HISTORY OF HIS MOTHER'S CLAN  
(ANN MACLEOD OF GESTO)  
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## P R E F A C E.



THIS volume completes my fifth Clan History, written and published during the last ten years, making altogether some two thousand two hundred and fifty pages of a class of literary work which, in every line, requires the most scrupulous and careful verification. This is in addition to about the same number, dealing with the traditions, superstitions, general history, and social condition of the Highlands, and mostly prepared after business hours in the course of an active private and public life, including my editorial labours in connection with the *Celtic Magazine* and the *Scottish Highlander*.

This is far more than has ever been written by any author born north of the Grampians ; and whatever may be said about the quality of these productions, two agreeable facts may be stated regarding them. They have all sold well, most of them at unusually high prices, and they have remunerated both author and publisher. These are, perhaps, after all, not the worst tests which might be applied to Highland literature.

In the preparation of this volume I have received valuable assistance in the genealogical portion of it from several ladies and gentlemen, to all of whom I beg to tender my warmest acknowledgments. I am specially indebted to Miss Macleod of Macleod, Miss Martin of Glendale, and Mrs. Hugh Munro Mackenzie of Distington ; to Lachlan Macdonald of Skaebost ; the Hon. Donald Grant Macleod, Judge of Maulmain, Burmah ; General Macleod

Innes, V.C., London ; and, last but not least, to my good friend, Mr. Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P. for the county of Inverness.

The Index, printed at the end of the volume, has been prepared by my son, Mr. Hector Rose Mackenzie, solicitor, Inverness.

For some time I thought that this would be my last Clan History, but no sooner is it completed than I find myself, almost involuntarily, engaged on a *History of the Frasers*. When that is finished, I hope to be able to fulfil the ambition of years and fill in a blank in the History of the Highlands, by the publication of an exhaustive work on the social condition of my countrymen, and the various important changes—social, political, and ecclesiastical—which have taken place in the North, from the Battle of Culloden to the present time ; more particularly during the present century.

A.M.

INVERNESS, *April*, 1889,



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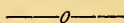
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# THE HISTORY OF THE MACLEODS.



## ORIGIN.

THE theory hitherto generally accepted as to the origin of the Macleods, as in that of most of the other Highland clans, is that they are of foreign origin—descended from the early Norwegian kings of Man. This descent, said to be based on an alleged account in the *Chronicle of Man*, was universally acknowledged, until Dr. Skene, in his *Highlanders of Scotland*, declared against it, stating that though few origins have been more strenuously supported than the Norwegian theory of the origin of the Macleods, there is “not the vestige of authority” for it. The *Chronicle of Man*, so persistently quoted by genealogists in support of the assertion that the Macleods are descended from the Norwegian Kings of Man, is absolutely silent on the point, and no evidence whatever is available from that source, though it is so often quoted as an authority on the subject. Skene points out the singular circumstance that that record is entirely “destitute of the slightest hint of any such origin, or even of any passage which could be assumed as a ground for such an idea.” He also says that the tradition of Norwegian descent does not “appear to be very old, for in a manuscript genealogy of the family, written in the latter part of the sixteenth century, there is not a trace of such a descent,” but, on the contrary, he maintains that

the Macleods are deduced from one common ancestor with the Campbells, and that they "were certainly a part of the ancient inhabitants of the earldom of Garmoran."\* Leod, the eponymus of the Clan, he says, cannot be placed earlier than the middle of the thirteenth century.†

While there will be a very general disposition among those who are acquainted with his works to accept the learned Dr. Skene as the very highest authority on a question like this, it is proper that in a history of the family we should give at some length the Norwegian origin claimed by the Macleods themselves, and universally acknowledged by all the family genealogists until within the last half century. It is to the following effect:—A certain Godred Crovan, son of Harold the Black, of the Royal Family of Denmark, was appointed King of Man and the Western Isles of Scotland by Harold the Imperious, and, accompanied by a fleet and an army, he came and took possession of his Island Kingdom in 1066, the superiority still remaining with the reigning Norwegian Kings. This Godred, who reigned for sixteen years, died in Islay, leaving three sons, the eldest of whom, Lagman, in 1103, succeeded his father. The second son, Harold, raised a rebellion against Lagman. Harold was defeated and taken prisoner, his eyes were put out, and he was otherwise treated in the most barbarous manner. Lagman, for this cruel conduct to his brother, was seized with remorse. He then renounced his Kingdom, and went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where he died, having only ruled for seven years. His brother, Harold, also died without issue, when the Island Kingdom fell to Godred's third son, Olave or Olaus, then a minor.

The government of the Kingdom, during the minority of Olaus, was entrusted to Donald Mac-Tade, an Irish nobleman who had been sent over to the people by Murchad O'Brien, King of Ireland, at their request, but he behaved in such a tyrannical fashion, by oppressing his

\* *Highlanders of Scotland*, Vol. II., pp. 273.

† *Celtic Scotland*, Vol. III., p. 340.

subjects, that after two years he was expelled from the Isles, when he fled to Ireland; and Olaus, having then come of age, took charge of the government himself.

He married Elfrica, daughter of Fergus Lord of Galloway, at the time one of the most powerful nobles in Scotland. By his wife, Olave or Olaus the Red had one son, Godred the Black, his heir. He also had three natural sons. Of several daughters, one, Ragnhildis, about 1140, married Somerled, Thane of Argyle and of the Isles, and became the progenitrix of all the Macdonalds, of the Macdougalls, and of several other important families in the Western Highlands and Isles.

The following curious account of how this marriage was brought about is given in the Macdonald MS. :—"Olay encamped at Loch Storna; Sommerled came to the other side of the loch, and cried out if Olay was there, and how he fared? Olay replied that he was well. Then said Sommerled, I come from Sommerled, Thane of Argyle, who promises to assist you conditionally in your expedition, provided you bestow your daughter on him. Olay answered that he would not give him his daughter, and that he knew he himself was the man; but that he and his men should follow him in his expedition. So Sommerled resolved to follow Olay. There was at that time a foster-brother of Olay's, one Maurice MacNeill, in Olay's company, who was a near friend of Sommerled; and when Sommerled brought his two galleys near the place where Olay's ship lay, this Maurice aforesaid came where he was, and said that he would find means by which he might come to get Olay's daughter. So, in the night time, he bored Olay's ship under water with many holes, and made a pin for each hole, overlaying them with tallow and butter. When they were up in the morning and set out to sea, after passing the point of Ardnamurchan, Olay's ship sprung a leak, casting the tallow and butter out of the holes by the ship tossing on the waves, and beginning to sink, Olay and his men cried for help to Sommerled. Maurice replied that Sommerled would not save him unless he bestowed

his daughter upon him. At last, Olay being in danger of his life, confirmed by an oath, that he would give his daughter to Sommerled, who received him immediately into his galley. Maurice went into Olay's galley and fixed the pins in the holes which he had formerly prepared for them, and by these means they landed in safety. From that time the posterity of Maurice are called MacIntyres (or wright's sons) to this day. On this expedition Olay and Sommerled killed MacLier, who possessed Strath, within the Isle of Skye. They killed Godfrey Du, or the Black, by putting out his eyes, which was done by the hermit MacPoke, because Godfrey Du had killed his father formerly. Olay, surnamed the Red, killed MacNicoll in North Uist likewise. Now Sommerled marrying Olay's daughter, and becoming great after Olay's death, which death, with the relation and circumstances thereof, if you be curious to know, you may get a long account of it in Camden."

According to the *Chronicle of Man*, the marriage of Ragnhildis to Somerled was the cause of the final fall of the Norwegian Kingdom of the Isles, and was the foundation of the title of Kings and Lords of the Isles, which was afterwards assumed, and long maintained, by Somerled's descendants. Olave the Red is said to have been a good Prince, and to have entered into friendly leagues with the Kings of Scotland and Ireland. After reigning in comparative peace for about forty years, he was, in 1154, assassinated by his nephews, the sons of his illegitimate brother Harold, who claimed half his kingdom of the Isles. His son, Godred the Black, was at the time in Norway, but, hearing of his father's death, he hastened to the Isles, where he was received by the people with great rejoicings as their lawful King. Having put to death the murderers of his father, he proceeded to Ireland to take part in the wars then going on in that Kingdom. Returning to the Isle of Man, he acted so tyrannically that the nobles rebelled against his rule, and by the instrumentality of one of them (Thorfinn), Dougall, the son of

Somerled of the Isles, and Godred's nephew, was proclaimed King of the Isles. After a fierce engagement between Godred and Somerled, the Southern Isles (south of Ardnamurchan and Kintyre) were ceded to the latter ; Godred retaining the Isle of Man and the Northern Isles for himself.\* Two years later Godred was driven out of Man, when he fled to Norway and never returned. He died about 1187, leaving an only lawful son (Olave the Black), then but ten years old. The nobles of Man appointed Godred's natural son, Reginald, a very brave man as their governor during Olave's minority, but he soon usurped the crown and kept possession of it for thirty-eight years, giving his brother,

OLAVE THE BLACK, the legitimate heir to the whole Kingdom of the Isles, the Island of Lewis for his maintenance. Olave, however, about 1226 succeeded, by aid of Paul, Sheriff of Skye, in regaining possession of the Norwegian Kingdom of Man and the Isles. He died about 1237, having been thrice married ; first, to a daughter of one of the leading families of Kintyre, by whom he had three sons—Harold, Reginald, and Magnus, all of whom successively reigned as Kings of Man. But Magnus of Norway, and Superior of the Isles, having surrendered the Island Kingdom to Alexander II. of Scotland, and Magnus of Man having died at the Castle of Ross, in 1266, without issue, the Island Kingdom came to an end. Olave the Red had no issue by his second marriage ; but having married as his third wife, Christina, daughter of Farquhar, Earl of Ross, he had, by her, three sons—

1. Leod, or Loyd, progenitor of the Macleods.
2. Guin, from whom come the Clan Gunn of Sutherland and Caithness, and
3. Leandruis, from whom are descended the Clan Leandruis, or Gillanders.

When Olave the Red, last King of Man, died, his eldest son,

\* For a full account of these proceedings see Mackenzie's *History of the Macdonalds and Lords of the Isles*, pp. 17-34.

## I. LEOD,

Who was the fifth representative of the Royal line of the Norwegian Kings of Man in direct descent, was a minor. The youth was fostered in the house of Paul, son of Boke, Sheriff of Skye, otherwise designated as "Paul Balkason, Lord of Skye," a man "of the greatest power and authority of any in those parts, who had been a constant friend of his father's in all his dangers and distresses," and by whose assistance his father, as already said, recovered his Kingdom. Leod "flourished in the reign of King Alexander III., and got from said Paul the lands of the Herries, etc.; and from his grandfather, the Earl of Ross, a part of the Barony of Glenelg, and he and his posterity have ever since been promiscuously designed by the title of Herries [Harris], Glenelg, Dunvegan, and of that Ilk."\*

Leod married a daughter of MacRaild Armuinn, a Danish knight, whose seat was where now stands the Castle of Dunvegan, and with his wife he received the lands of Dunvegan, Minginish, Bracadale, Duirinish, Lyndale, and part of Troternish, in the Isle of Skye.

There are some families of the name of MacRaild still living on the Macleod estates, and we know of one or two elsewhere who came originally from that district.

Mairi Nighean Alastair Ruaidh, the famous Macleod poetess, refers to the traditional Norwegian and Royal origin of the race in her famous "*Cronan*," where she says, describing the recovery of the young heir of Macleod from a serious illness—

" *Sliochd Ollaghair nan lann,*  
*Thogadh sroilltean ri crann,*  
*Nuair a thoisich iad ann,*  
*Cha bu lionsgaradh gann,*  
*Fir a b' fhirinneach bann,*  
*Priseil an dream.*  
*Rioghal gun chall còrach."*†

\* *Douglas's Baronage*, p. 375. "Among the documents found in the King's Treasury, at Edinburgh, in 1282, there was one entitled, 'Charter of Glenhelk,' which belonged to the Isle of Man. In 1292 the lands of Glenelg appear to have been included in the Sheriffdom of Skye, erected by King John Balliol."—*Origines Parochiales Scotiae*.

† John Mackenzie's *Beauties of Gaelic Poetry*.



In the *Lord of the Isles*, Sir Walter Scott refers to the same origin, where some of the qualities of "Stout Dunvegan's knight" and his Norse descent are thus described—

"Torquil's rude thought and stubborn will  
Smack of the wild Norwegian still."

By his wife, MacRaild's daughter, and the heiress of Dunvegan, Leod had issue—

1. Tormod, ancestor of the Macleods of Harris and Glenelg, represented by the Macleods of Dunvegan, and known among the Highlanders to this day as "*Sìol Thormoid*"—the descendants of Tormod or Norman.

2. Torquil, progenitor of the Macleods of Lewis; Water-nish in Skye; Assynt and Gairloch on the mainland; and of Raasay. The Macleods of Lewis are still spoken of in Gaelic as "*Sìol Thorcuil*"—the descendants of Torquil; while the cadet family of Raasay is designated "*Clann Mhic GilleChalluim*," to indicate their descent from Malcolm Garve, son of Malcolm, eighth Baron of Lewis.

Each of the sons, Tormod and Torquil, was a *Mac Leod*, or son of Leod, whence the family name.

### THE CHIEFSHIP OF THE FAMILY.

Before proceeding with the history of either of the two leading families of this great House, it may be well to dispose, so far as can now be done, of their respective claims to be the head of the Clan; for the seniority and the Chiefship have at different times been claimed by the descendants of TORMOD and TORQUIL respectively, and it may now be difficult to prove who of the two was Leod's eldest son; though it is very generally admitted that Tormod was the elder of the two brothers, and that, therefore, his male representative, the present head of the Macleods of Dunvegan, is correctly designated MACLEOD OF MACLEOD, and Chief of the Clan.

It has always been claimed by the Macleods of Harris, Glenelg, and Dunvegan—(1), that Tormod got the greater portion of his father's estates; (2), that in several royal charters, and other authentic documents, where the heads

of the families are mentioned, the representatives of Tormod, usually styled Macleods of Harris, are always named and inserted before the representatives of the Macleods of Lewis; and (3), that although the representatives of Tormod have changed their armorial bearings, there is sufficient proof that they formerly carried the paternal arms of the family.

The representatives of the family of Lewis have, on the other hand, maintained—(1), that the descendants of their progenitor, Torquil, succeeded Leod in the Island of Lewis, which, they assert, was the paternal estate of the Clan; (2), that the representatives of Torquil always carried in their armorial bearings the arms of the Kings of Man and the Isles, their paternal ancestors; (3), that it has been the unvaried tradition of the Lewis Macleods, that Torquil was the eldest son, and that his having been so is confirmed by Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Lord Lyon King at Arms, and by Buchanan's History of the Origin of the Clans, published in 1723.

Dr. Skene, referring to these counter claims, says that "from the earliest period in which the Macleods are mentioned in history, they have been divided into the great families of Macleod of Glenelg, or Harris, and Macleod of Lewis, and these families have for a long time disputed as to which of them the rights of Chief belong. As occurs in the somewhat parallel case of the Macneils, this dispute appears to have arisen from the possessions of the Macleods having necessarily been so little connected together, and from both families being nearly of equal power and consequence; but, from the few data which have remained to guide us on this point, there seems every reason to think that Macleod of Glenelg, or Harris, was of old the proper Chief of the Clan. Macleod of Harris," Skene continues, "was originally invariably designated 'de Glenelg,' and Glenelg was certainly the first and chief possession of the Clan. In various charters of the fifteenth century, to which the heads of both families happen to be witnesses, Macleod de Glenelg always appears before



that of Macleod of Lewis, and, finally, the possessions of the Lewis family formed no part of the original possessions of the Clan; for the first charter of the family of Lewis is one by King David II. to Torquil Macleod, of the barony of Assynt. And it is certain," this learned authority concludes, "that Torquil obtained this barony by marriage with Margaret Macnicol, the heiress of the lands, and in that Charter he is not designated 'de Lewis,' *nor has he any designation whatever*. These facts," he declares, "seem conclusive, that the claim of Macleod of Harris to be Chief of the Clan is well founded, and that the marriage of a younger son to the heiress of Assynt and Lewis, gave rise to the family of Lewis, who were the oldest cadets of the Clan, and who soon came to rival the family of the Chief in power and extent of territory."

The first charter of any lands to the family was granted by David II. to Malcolm, son of Tormod Macleod, son of Leod, about 1343, and the obligation contained in it is to the effect that Macleod is to keep a twenty-six-oared galley at all times for the use of the King.\*

Referring to the lands acquired by the family in the Isle of Skye, now the only estates possessed by the Macleods of Harris and Dunvegan, Skene says that they acquired these lands by marriage with the daughter of MacRaid, one of the Norwegian nobles of the Isles, and he believes that it is from this connection, and from the succession secured by it, that probably first arose the tradition of the Macleods having been originally descended from the Norwegian Kings of the Isles. He firmly holds, as already stated, that they were originally of pure native descent, and belonged to the ancient inhabitants of the Celtic Earldom of Garmoran.

The original possessions of the Macleods of Harris and Glenelg were always held direct from the Crown, while

\* "About the year 1343, King David II. granted to Malcolm, the son of Turmode Macclode, two-thirds of the tenement of Glenelg, namely, eight davachs and five pennylands, for the service of a ship of 26 oars when required."—*Origines Parochiales Scotiae*.

those of the Lewis were held by their owners as vassals of the Earl of Ross and Lords of the Isles. At first the Harris Macleods held that island under the MacRuaries of Garmoran; and, later on, when the North Isles passed to the house of Islay, they held Harris, as their neighbours and namesakes held Lewis, as vassals of the Lords of the Isles, as they also held their lands in Skye, comprising at that time fully two-thirds of the Island.

The armorial bearings of the two families were quite different, from an early period—that of Harris being a castle, and that of Lewis a burning mountain.

## II. TORMOD MACLEOD,

Eldest son and male representative of Leod, son of Olave the Black, King of Man, succeeded to two-thirds of the lands of Glenelg (the other third being the property of Hugh Fraser, Lord of Lovat), and afterwards to Harris, with the lands, already described, in the Isle of Skye. The lands of Glenelg were held of the Crown, while his Hebridean possessions were held of the Earls of Ross and Lords of the Isles before the forfeiture of that family. This appears from a charter in which these facts are narrated, and by which the lands are granted by James IV. to Alexander Macleod, on condition of his holding in readiness, for the King's service, one ship of twenty-six oars and two galleys of sixteen. The Macleods of Harris and of Lewis must have occupied a prominent position long before this date, for a charter, granted by Donald of the Isles, grandson of the great Somerled, in which he styles himself King of the Isles, to Lord John Bisset, and dated at his Castle of Dingwall on the 19th of January, 1245, is witnessed by his "most beloved cousines and counsellors," Macleod of Lewis and Macleod of Harris. The lands of Glenelg were granted between 1307 and 1314 by Robert the Bruce to Thomas Randolph, as part of the Earldom of Moray, from which it may be inferred, notwithstanding that Douglas says he was "a faithful and loyal subject," that Macleod of Macleod was opposed to

Bruce in his efforts against the attempts of the English, under the Edwards, to subdue Scotland until the prowess of the great Scottish King culminated so brilliantly for the Scottish nation on the glorious field of Bannockburn. And in this connection it is instructive to find that the Macleods are not mentioned by the earlier historians among the clans said to have been present at the Battle of Bannockburn.

We are informed in the "Anecdotes of Olave the Black, King of Man," that Olave went to Norway to complain to Haco, the King, of the great hostilities carried on at the time by the Scotch in the Western Isles, and that he was supplied with a fleet of twenty ships. "When Ottar Snackoll, Paul Bolka, and Ungi, Paul's son, heard this, then sailed they southward before Skye, and found in Westerford (said to be Loch Bracadale), Thorkel Thormodson. And they fought with him, and Thorkel fell there, and two of his sons. But his son, Tormod, came off in this manner; he leapt into a boat, which floated there by its ship, and it with him was wrecked on Skotland."

Tormod Macleod married Finguala MacCrotan, the daughter of a famous Irish Chief, with issue—a son and successor,

### III. MALCOLM MACLEOD,

Of Glenelg and Harris. We have already seen that in or about 1343 David Bruce granted Malcolm a charter of the greater portion of the lands of Glenelg,\* which he and his successors always held of the Crown.† This charter is from King David II., *Dilecto et fidei nostro Malcolmo, filio Tormodi Macleod, pro homagio et servitio suo, duas partes tenementi de Glenelg, viz., octo davatas, et quinque denariatas terræ, cum pertinentiis, infra vicecomitatum de Inverness. Faciendo nobis et hæredibus nostris prædictus Malcolmus, et hæredes sui, servitium unius navis*

\* Robertson's Index, and Origines Parochiales Scotiæ.

† Gregory's Western Isles, p. 37.

*triginta et sex remorum, quoties super hoc per nos fuerint requisiti, prout facere tenebantur tempore patris nostri*, etc. The charter is not dated, but all the authorities agree that it was granted in or about 1343.

Malcolm married Martha, daughter of Donald, Earl of Mar, nephew of King Robert the Bruce, with issue—three sons—

1. John, his heir and successor.

2. Tormod, progenitor of several families in Harris, one of whom possessed the Island of Bernera, in the Sound, “before Sir Norman got it from the family as his patrimony.”\*

3. Murdo, ancestor of the Macleods of Gesto, of whom hereafter.

4. A daughter, Finguala, who married Murdo Mackenzie, 6th of Kintail.†

Malcolm, on his death, was succeeded by his eldest son and heir,

#### IV. JOHN MACLEOD,

Designed both of Glenelg and Harris. He was head of the Clan in the reign of Robert II.—1370-1390—and died shortly after the accession of Robert III., who ascended the throne in the last-named year.

John married and had issue, two sons and one daughter—

1. Malcolm, who died before his father, unmarried ; and

2. William, who, on the death of his brother, Malcolm, became his father's heir, and afterwards succeeded to the estates.

3. A daughter, who married Lachlan Maclean of Duart.

John was succeeded at his death by his only surviving son,

#### V. WILLIAM MACLEOD,

Who, having been educated for the Church, was known as *Uilleam Cleireach*, or William the Clerk. When a youth, he appears to have received some lasting insult in the

\* *Douglas's Baronage*, p. 375.

† *History of the Clan Mackenzie*, p. 44.

Fraser country, and soon after he had succeeded to the Macleod estates he made a raid into the Aird, upon which occasion he carried away a great number of cattle, with which he proceeded to Skye, where he had them all slaughtered in Harlosh, at a place to this day called "Bun a Sgeamhaidh," or the place of offals.

On another occasion, when his lands were invaded by the Macdonalds, Lords of the Isles, who carried away a great spoil, Macleod followed them, and, by a clever stratagem, came upon them unawares, close to Loch Sligachan, where he completely routed the raiders, and got possession of the stolen cattle, which were divided among his followers at a rock still called *Craggan an Fheannaidh*, or the Rock of the Skinning, to indicate where the cattle were afterwards slaughtered.

William married a daughter of John Maclean, second of Lochbuy, Mull, and by her had issue—

1. John, his heir and successor.

2. Tormod, from whom a branch of the Clan called *Clann Mac-Mhic Uilleam*, the Macleods of Borline, and *Clann Mac-Mhic-Alastair Ruaidh*, from whom the Macleods of Balliemore, St. Kilda, and several minor branch families were descended.

3. George, who went to France, and settled in the Province of Lorraine, where many of his descendants acquired property, and where, we are informed, a number of them are living at the present day.

William did not inherit the property long, he having died a few years after the death of his father, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

## VI. JOHN MACLEOD,

Known as "John Borb," and whose name is mentioned in a charter granted to his grandson, William Macleod, by James IV., in 1498. In this charter the grantee is described as Alexander Macleod, "the son and heir of William *John* Maklodesoun of Dunbeggane"—the son and heir of William, John Macleod's son of Dunvegan. John was a man of

great strength and stature, undaunted courage and resolution. He was among the Western chiefs who accompanied Donald of the Isles to the Battle of Harlaw in 1411, and fought with him there in the main body of the Highland army. Hugh Macdonald, the Sleat "Seannachaidh," says that "Macdonald set his men in order as follows:—He commanded himself the main battle, where he kept most of the Islanders, and with the Macleods John of Harris and John of the Isles."\* John married Margaret, a grand-daughter of the Earl of Douglas, by whom he had issue—

1. William, his heir and successor.

2. Tormod, progenitor of the Macleods of Meidle, extinct in the direct male line. From this Tormod descended also the Macleods of Drynoch and Balmeanach; a branch known as "Sliochd Ian Mhic Leoid;" and several others, of whom in their proper place.

3. Margaret, who married Roderick Macleod, VII. of the Lewis, with issue.

4. A daughter, who married, as his first wife, Lachlan Bronach Maclean, seventh of Duart, with issue, among others—John Garbh Maclean, first of the family of Coll.

John Macleod died in the Island of Pabbay, in Harris, early in the reign of James II., when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

## VII. WILLIAM DUBH MACLEOD,

Whose name appears, with Roderick of the Lewis, as witness to a charter granted by John, Earl of Ross, to his brother Hugh, dated the 28th of June, 1449. The two Chiefs are described as *Gulielmus Macleod de Glenelg, et Rodericus Macleod de Lewes*. He fought at the head of his followers, with this John, Earl of Ross, against the Earl's bastard son, Angus Og, and was killed in a naval engagement which took place between John and Angus at the Bloody Bay, in the Sound of Mull, near

\* Quoted in Mackenzie's *History of the Macdonalds and Lords of the Isles*, p. 68, from the *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*.



Tobermory, where Angus defeated his father, and in consequence managed to fully establish himself in possession of the leadership and territories of the Clan. The heir of Roderick Macleod of the Lewis was mortally wounded at this engagement, and he soon afterwards died, without issue, of his wounds, on his way north, at Dunvegan Castle.\*

In a charter by John of Isla, Lord of the Isles, dated the 22nd of December, 1478, in favour of *Alexandro Leslie de Wardes*, among the witnesses, along with Colin, Earl of Argyle, Lachlan Maclean of Duart, and Hector Maclean of Lochbuy, are found the names of William Macleod of Glenelg and Harris, and of Torquil Macleod of Lewis; and in both the charters William's name is first in order. This Chief was a renowned and brave warrior, and when killed at the battle of the Bloody Bay, in 1480, he was a very old man.

In 1460, William Macleod of Harris accompanied Hugh of Sleat and "the young gentlemen of the Isles" in a raid to Orkney, described at length in Mackenzie's *History of the Macdonalds and Lords of the Isles*, pp. 151-152. Troternish was at this date held of the Lords of the Isles by the Macleods of Harris, but in 1498 "King James IV. granted in heritage to Alexander M'Cloide, the son and heir of the deceased William John Maklodesone of Dunbeggane, two *unciates* of the lands of Trouternes, together with the bailiary of the whole lands of Trouternes, lying in Skye in the Lordship of the Isles, which had been forfeited by Lord John of the Isles, for service of ward, relief, and marriage, with the maintenance of a ship of twenty-six oars, and two ships of sixteen oars, both in peace and in war, for the use of the King or his lieutenants, reserving to the King the nests of falcons within the lands, and all the other usual services."†

William married his cousin, a daughter of John Maclean,

\* Hugh Macdonald's *Manuscript History of the Macdonalds*. See also Gregory's *Western Isles*, p. 73.

† *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, p. 351. Vol. II., Part I.

third of Lochbuy, by his wife, Elizabeth Mackay, daughter of Lord Reay, with issue—

1. Alexander, his heir and successor, and

2. A daughter, who married as his third wife, Lachlan Maclean, X. of Duart, with issue—Eachainn Mor, who carried on the succession ; and Ailein nan Sop.

He married, secondly, Anne, daughter of Ranald Bàn Allanson Macdonald of Moidart, with issue—

3. A daughter, who married Rory Mor Mackenzie of Acha-Ghluineachan, who by her became the progenitor of the Mackenzies of Fairburn and Achilty. Anne Macdonald, widow of William Dubh Macleod, married, secondly, Hector Roy Mackenzie, first of Gairloch, and by him became the mother of John Glassich Mackenzie, who carried on the succession of that family.

He was succeeded by his only son,

#### VIII. ALEXANDER MACLEOD,

Known among the Highlanders as “Alastair Crotach,” or the Humpbacked. In 1498, he, along with Torquil Macleod of the Lewis, made his homage to James IV. at the Royal Castle of Campbelton, Kintyre, when the King granted him a charter as “Alexander Makloid, the son and heir of William John Maklodesoun of Dunbegane,” of six *unciates* of Duirinish and other lands, forfeited by John, Lord of the Isles, of whom these lands were held by his father, William Macleod, for the same service as the lands of Troternish.\*

Another charter is quoted in Douglas's *Baronage*, dated 15th of June in the same year, in the following terms:—*Dilecto et fideli nostro Alexandro Macleod, filio et heredi quondam Gulielmi, Johannis Macleod soun de Dunvegan, terrarum de Ardmannach in Herage de Lewes† et cum omnibus minutis insulis ad dictum Ardmannach pertinen. terrarum de Dunynys, terrarum de Megynis, terrarum de*

\* *Register of the Great Seal*, Book xiii., No. 305.

† Ardmanach of Lewis is the older name for what we now call Harris. The date of this charter is also given in the *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*.



*Brakadale, terræ de Lindall, terrarum de Trotterness, cum officio balivatus totarum et integrarum prædict. terrarum de Trotterness in Skye, que fuerent quond. Gulielmi Macleod hæreditarie, etc., etc.,* "which lands," says Douglas, "were held of the Earls of Ross and Lords of the Isles before their forfeiture, but afterwards of the Crown ward, for holding in readiness one ship of 26 oars, and two of 16, for the King's service, when required, reserving also to the King and his successors the airies or nests of falcons within the same bounds."

Hugh Fraser, Lord Lovat, obtained two decreets of appraising of the Barony of Glenelg against Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan, one of which was dated the 31st of March, 1532, and the other on the 13th February, 1539, and his lordship was infest on these appraisings in virtue of a charter under the Great Seal. On the 13th February, 1539, Alexander Macleod, on Lord Lovat's resignation on the same date, obtained a charter of the Barony from James V. to *Alexandro Macleod de Dunvegane terrarum baroniæ de Glenelg cum molendinis, etc.,* in Inverness-shire. The year at that date ended in April, so that this is probably the charter referred to in the *Origines Parochiales Scotiae* as having been granted in 1540. This grant for some reason or other was soon afterwards revoked.

In 1504, Alexander Macleod of Harris was in constant communication and strict friendly alliance with the King for the good government of the Isles, and Macvicar, an envoy from Macleod to His Majesty, remained at Court arranging matters for three weeks at that period. When nearly all the Western Chiefs joined Donald Dubh of the Isles in his efforts to gain the Island lordship, powerfully aided, among others, by Torquil Macleod of the Lewis, who was, in 1506, solemnly forfeited in Parliament—he having refused to surrender and take his trial for high treason for his share in that rebellion, and of which he is described by Tytler as "the great head"—Macleod of Harris remained loyal to the Crown; but when Sir

Donald of Lochalsh led an open rebellion later on after the Battle of Flodden, assisted by the Western Chiefs, Macleod was one of the number, and we find him, along with Lachlan Maclean of Duart, who had shortly before possessed himself of the Royal Castle of Cairnburgh, seizing the Castle of Dunskaich in Sleat; and, immediately afterwards, Sir Donald Gallda of Lochalsh was proclaimed Lord of the Isles.

In 1514, both Macleod of Harris and Macleod of Lewis were exempted from the remission and terms of surrender offered to the less prominent and violent followers of Sir Donald of Lochalsh. Alexander is again on record in 1515-16. In 1517 he, with the Earl of Argyll and several other Chiefs, presented petitions to the Privy Council, making certain offers and suggestions in connection with the affairs of Sir Donald Gallda, the principal of which was to advocate a scheme for the suppression of Sir Donald and his rebellious followers, of whom Macleod himself was one of the most prominent only a few years before. Macleod of Harris and Maclean of Duart, finding Sir Donald of Lochalsh had disappointed them in every respect and had refused to follow their advice, became disgusted, and resolved to apprehend him and deliver him up to the Regent. Donald, however, discovered the plot and managed to escape, but they made two of his brothers prisoners, and offered to give them up to the Crown to palliate their own rebellious proceedings. This appears from petitions by Macleod and Maclean to the Regent and the Privy Council, and recorded in the Books of Council, xxix., folio 211, at the time.

In the same year Macleod, with about a hundred others, received permission under the Privy Seal of King James V., to pass to any place within the Kingdom of Scotland during the period between the 6th of January and the 15th of March. On the last-named day, in this year (1517), he and his friends obtained a remission for the part they had taken in assisting Sir Donald of Lochalsh in certain treasonable proposals made by him to Alexander Lord

Hume, on giving hostages for their good and loyal behaviour in future ; but Macleod demanded, in addition, a heritable grant of the lands of Troternish. This was refused, but he was permitted to continue in these lands on the footing of a King's tenant as formerly, for a lease of eleven years, and afterwards during the will of the Regent Albany.

In 1528 serious disturbances broke out in the Isles in consequence of certain titles granted by the Earl of Angus, who had possession of James V. in his youth, having been declared null and void by the King on gaining his freedom from the Earl ; and it was at the same time provided that in future no lands should be bestowed in the West Highlands and Isles without the advice of the Privy Council and of the Earl of Argyll, then the King's Lieutenant in the West. It was considered a suitable opportunity during this disturbance to open up an old feud which existed between the Macleods of Dunvegan and the Macdonalds of Sleat respecting the lands and Bailliary of Troternish, in the north end of the Isle of Skye.

To understand this feud it is necessary to go back a little on what has been already stated. Gregory puts the facts very clearly, and we cannot perhaps do better than give the substance of what he writes :—By a charter under the Great Seal, in August, 1498, he says, the office of Bailliary, with two *unciates* of the lands of Troternish, was confirmed to Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan, as formerly held by him under the Lord of the Isles, and then in the hands of the Crown, by the forfeiture of that nobleman. Two months later, another charter passed under the Great Seal, granting the same office and eight merks of the lands to Torquil Macleod of the Lewis, on precisely similar grounds. Both charters seemed to have been rendered null by the general revocation in 1498 or 1499. In 1505 the eighty merk lands of Troternish were let by the Commissioners of the Crown, for three years, to Ranald Bane Allanson of Moydert. In 1510, Archibald Dubh, Captain of the Macdonalds of Sleat, was acting as Baillie of Troternish,

and a letter was directed, under the Privy Seal, to the tenants in his favour. Ranald Bane of Moydert was executed at Perth in 1513; and Archibald Dubh was very soon afterwards killed by his nephews, the sons of his murdered brothers. Macleod of Dunvegan, who was principal Crown tenant of Troternish for some time before 1517,\* had his lease continued from that year until the majority of James V. Under the government of the Earl of Angus, Dunvegan obtained also an heritable grant of the lands of Sleat and North Uist; and thus became additionally exposed to the hostility of Macdonald of Sleat. The latter Chief sought the assistance of his uterine brother, John MacTorquil Macleod (son of Torquil Macleod of the Lewis, forfeited in 1506, and nephew of Malcolm, the then Lord of Lewis), a man like himself without legal inheritance of any kind, to expel Macleod of Dunvegan and his clan from Troternish. In this they were successful, and also in preventing Macleod from putting in force his charter to the lands of Sleat and North Uist. Troternish was again occupied by the Macdonalds of Sleat; and John MacTorquil of the Lewis taking advantage of the opportunity afforded him by the death of his uncle, and the minority of the son of the latter, and aided by Donald Gruamach and his followers, seized the whole Barony of Lewis, which, with the command of the Siol Torquil, he held during his life.†

On the 11th of March, 1528, in consequence of these quarrels, summonses were issued at the instance of Alexander Crotach Macleod of Dunvegan, Alexander Macleod of Minginish (the Talisker of that day, and a cousin of the Chief), Donald Roy, Farquhar Liath, and Donald Glas, against John MacTorquil Macleod of Lewis, and Donald Gruamach, "Mac Dhomhnuill Ghallaich" of Sleat, for the spoliation and ejection of the said Macleods out of their possessions in Troternish. The Lords of Council and Session decerned the said John Macleod of Lewis

\* He received a tack of the whole of Troternish on the 8th of March, 1516.

† *Highlands and Isles*, pp. 130-131.

and Donald Gruamach Macdonald of Sleat to pay the said Macleods of Skye for the "spulzie":—to the Laird of Dunvegan, "4 score merks and a 100 cows, price per head xxx. shillings; to Talisker, 300 cows, 100 horses, price each 6 merks, 2000 sheep, ewes, and wedders at 4s. each, 2000 goats at 4s.; to Donald Roy for his share of loss in Carbost, 200 cows, 80 horses, 500 sheep, and 500 goats; to Farquhar Liath, 100 cows, 60 horses, 200 sheep, and 400 goats; to John MacAngus, Borroraig, 120 cows, 100 sheep, and 100 goats; and to Donald Glas, 80 cows, 100 sheep, 100 goats, and 40 horses," all of the same value as those decerned in favour of Macleod and Minginish.

In 1531, Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan was repeatedly summoned before Parliament, but he refused to appear. In 1538, he and John Macleod of Lewis are found among nine of the Island Chiefs who had sent in offers of submission in connection with a new rebellion headed by Alexander Macdonald of Isla. They were promised protection against Argyll, who led a strong force against them, on condition that they should go to Edinburgh and meet the King there, or anywhere else where he might be holding his Court, before the 20th of the following June, and remain there as long as they were required to do so. When they left Court for their homes they were to have protection for twenty-one days, that they might return to their respective residences without molestation from any quarter. Argyll, however, died during this year, and nothing was done. After various negotiations, the Western Chiefs were reinstated in their lands.

In May, 1539, Troternish was again invaded and laid waste by Donald Gorm of Sleat and his allies. Macleod of Lewis and Macleod of Dunvegan complained to the Privy Council of the conduct of the Macdonalds. Donald Gorm was killed shortly after in Kintail, and in 1541 several of his accomplices received remissions for their raid into Troternish and for other offences. Tradition has it that the allies followed the Macleods of Lewis to Skaebost, where a



battle was fought between the parties at a place called *Achnafala* (the field of blood). Several of the heads cut off in the fray were floated down by the River Snizort into the yair at the mouth of the river, in consequence of which it is still called *Coire-nan-Ceann*, or the yair of the heads. On this occasion Mackenzie of Kintail aided the Macleods against the Macdonalds of Sleat in Troternish, and hence the raid of the latter to Kintail, where their Chief was killed by an arrow shot from the walls while laying siege to Eileandonain Castle.

In 1540 the King headed an expedition in person by sea to the Western Isles. After visiting Sutherland, and other parts of the Northern coasts of Scotland, he proceeded to the Lewis, where Roderick Macleod, with his leading kinsmen, were compelled to join the Royal fleet and accompany the King in his further progress. On their arrival on the West Coast of Skye, Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan and several of the principal men of his Clan were seized, obliged to go on board, and to accompany His Majesty in the fleet. Nearly all the Western Chiefs were similarly treated, but several of them were soon after set at liberty, on their giving hostages for good behaviour in the future; while some of the more turbulent were kept in confinement until after the death of James V. in 1542. In 1540, Alexander Macleod and twenty-three others received a remission from the Crown, for the assistance which they had given to David Hume, Sir Donald Gallda of Lochalsh, and their accomplices, who are described as "the King's rebels." In 1541 Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan resigned the lands of Easter and Wester Lyndale in the Lordship of Duirinish, and James V. granted them to William Macleod, Alexander's apparent heir, and to Agnes Fraser, his wife. On the 30th of November, 1542, Alexander obtained from King James V. a charter to himself in life-rent, and to William Macleod, his eldest son, in fee of the lands of Troternish and Sleat in Skye, and of the lands of North Uist, in which they were both infeft on the 8th of February, 1543. In the same year the same King granted to Alexander Macleod

in life-rent, and to his son and apparent heir William, and his heirs male, with remainder to his second son Donald, and his heirs male, to his third son Tormod, to John Macleod in Minginish, to William Macleod's heirs whomsoever, and to the eldest of his female heirs without division, the lands of Troternish of the old extent of 80 merks, and extending in the King's rental to 360 merks Scots for the yearly payment of £246 13s. 4d.\* These lands then belonged to Donald Gormeson Macdonald of Sleat, who, after the return of the King from his tour to the West Highlands and Isles in 1540 did not appear before the Council and produce his titles as required of him.

In 1545, Macleod of Dunvegan and Roderick Macleod of Lewis were members of the Council of Donald Dubh, who had, in that year been proclaimed Lord of the Isles for the second time. In the same year, after the death of Donald Dubh, the Macleods of Dunvegan disputed the title of the Macdonalds of Sleat to the Macleod lands. The Macleods of Dunvegan and of the Lewis, along with the Macleans and some of the lesser clans, opposed the claims of James Macdonald of Isla, on the death of Donald Dubh, in 1545, to the Lordship of the Isles, and they soon afterwards effected a reconciliation with the Regent. In the same year Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan, with Roderick Macleod of the Lewis, and forty other persons, received permission, under the Privy Seal of Queen Mary, to go to the Regent and Lords of Council on business, during the period from the 17th of August to the 1st of November.

Alexander is repeatedly on record in connection with his lands of Glenelg, which, as appears from a charter referred to below, he granted, on his marriage, to his eldest son. In 1533, one-third of the two-thirds of the lands of Glenelg, which belonged in heritage to Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan, were appraised to Hugh Lord Fraser of Lovat, for the sum of £800 Scots recovered by him, and in defect of movable goods. In 1535 the other two-thirds of the same lands were appraised in favour of the same Hugh for the

\**Register of the Privy Seal*, Vol. XVI., fol. 83.

sum of 2400 merks Scots as part payment of £4085 10s. 8d. contained in letters of the King, under reversion to Alexander Macleod, on payment of these sums and expenses within seven years. In 1536, King James V. granted to the same Hugh, Lord Fraser of Lovat, the dues of the lands of Glenelg, which were in the King's hands by reason of the non-entry of the heir of the deceased William Macleod. In 1540, the lands and barony of Glenelg, with the castle, mills, and fishings, were resigned by Lord Fraser, and were then granted by King James V. to Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan. In 1541 the same king granted to William Macleod, the son and apparent heir of Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan, and to Agnes Fraser, his wife, the lands of Arrocardich, Scallasaigbeg, Scallasaigmore, Knockfin, Pitalman, Easter Mill, Wester Mill, Lusaw, Nachtane, Wester Corrary, and Inchkennell, in the Lordship of Glenelg, which Alexander Macleod had resigned. In the same year the lands of Easter and Wester Lyndale were resigned in the same way, and granted to the same parties, as were also extensive lands in Bracadale, extending in all to £20.\* In 1547, Queen Mary granted Archibald, Earl of Argyll, the ward of all the lands that belonged to the *deceased* Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan.

Macleod was a man of great force of character and activity in peace and war. He built one of the towers, still standing, of Dunvegan Castle, and repaired the old Cathedral Church of Rodel, in South Harris, where he was himself afterwards buried, on his death, at a very advanced age, in 1547. His tomb, which we recently examined, during a visit to the old Church of St. Clements, now called Rodel Cathedral, is in excellent preservation. It is elaborately sculptured with curious devices, and bears the following Latin inscription:—

*"Hic locutur Alexander filius Vilmi MacClod dno de Dunvegan, anno dni. M.CCCCC.XXVIII."*

Mr. Seton, in a foot-note to *St. Kilda, Past and Present*, 1878, p. 36, says, "Sir Walter Scott makes the date of

\* *Origines Parochiales Scotiae.*



the inscription a hundred years older than it really is—viz., M.CCCC.XXVIII., instead of M.CCCCC.XXVIII. In a heel-ball rubbing which I took at Rodel last July *five* C's are quite apparent." When the writer visited the Cathedral in May, 1885, *five* C's were quite legible, without any markings, but the date on the tomb must in other respects be incorrect; for it is quite certain that Alexander lived until 1547. We are disposed to think that the second X in the inscription was originally an L, and that it should read M.CCCCC.XLVIII. Or it may be that the sculpture is of a later date, and that the figures were cut at a time when the actual year of Alexander's death was not accurately known to those who erected it.

Alexander has always been charged with the cruel massacre of the Macdonalds in the Cave of Eigg, but it will be conclusively shown later on that the horrible deed did not take place for at least ten years after his death.

He married a daughter of Allan Cameron, XII. of Lochiel, with issue—

1. William, his heir and successor.
2. Donald, who, after many difficulties and long negotiations with the guardians of his niece, William's only daughter, Mary, which will be fully detailed in the proper place, succeeded his brother in the family estates, and as head of the Clan.
3. Tormod, who ultimately succeeded his brother Donald.
4. A daughter, who married James, second son of Donald Macdonald, IV. of Sleat, with issue—John, progenitor of the Macdonalds of Kingsburgh, and another son, Donald. She married, secondly, Allan Macdonald, XV. of Clanranald, with issue, one of whom, Donald, carried on the representation of that family. Allan's ill-treatment of this lady was the cause of a fierce feud between his family and that of Dunvegan, which was carried on for many years, and of which an account will appear in its proper place. On the death of Clanranald, she married, as her third husband, another Macdonald Chief, of the family of Keppoch, also with issue.

5. Another daughter, who married Hector Maclean, fourth of Lochbuy, with issue.

Alexander Crotach Macleod died at an advanced age, in 1547, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of Rodel. In the arms upon his tomb, which are still to be seen, is a lymphad or galley, the ancient armorial bearings of his predecessors.\* He was succeeded by his eldest son,

## IX. WILLIAM MACLEOD

Of Harris and Dunvegan. We have already seen that, in 1541, on the resignation of his father, certain lands were granted to William as heir-apparent upon the occasion of his marriage with Agnes Fraser, daughter of Hugh Fraser, fourth Lord of Lovat. He was duly served heir in special to his father; and, in virtue of a precept from Chancery, was, on the 15th of May, 1548, infeft in the whole of the family estates, except Troternish, Sleat, and North Uist, in which three places he had been infeft during his father's life. The ancient hereditary estates of the family—Harris, Dunvegan, Minginish, Bracadale, Duirinish, Lyndale, and Glenelg—had descended to William under a destination to the heirs whomsoever of his father, making this extensive property a *female* fief, while at the same time he was a vassal of the Crown, under a different destination, which made them a *male* fief, for the lands of Troternish, Sleat, and North Uist.

At this time, Troternish, the ownership of which was constantly in dispute, frequently changed hands, and though the legal rights to Sleat and North Uist were at that date undoubtedly vested in William Macleod, these lands were occupied by the Macdonalds. When William Macleod died in 1552-3 without male issue, the two properties which had been vested in him by different destinations became separated; that which was a female fief going to his only child,

MARY MACLEOD, then an infant; the lands of Troternish, Sleat, and North Uist, being a male fief, going to his brother and heir male, Donald, second son of Alastair *Crotach*, who at the same time seized the other portions

\* *Douglas's Baronage*, p. 377.

of the family estates to the prejudice of his niece, Mary Macleod, whose life and history will appear at considerable length as we proceed. In 1552-3, James, Earl of Arran, Regent of Scotland, made a gift to George, Earl of Huntly, of the ward, non-entry, relief, and marriage of this wealthy heiress, in the following terms, the only change which we make being to modernise the orthography :—

“A letter made to George, Earl of Huntly, Lord Gordon and Badenoch, etc., Chancellor to our Sovereign Lady, his heirs, and assigns, one or more, the gift of the ward and non-entries, mails, fermes, profits, and duties of all and sundry the lands underwritten. That is to say, the lands of Harris, Dunvegan, Troternish; the lands of Sleat and North Uist; the lands of Duirinish, the lands of Bracadale, the lands of Minginish, the lands of Glenelg, and all other lands and annual rents which pertained to umquhile William Macleod of Dunvegan, with the castles, towers, fortalices, mills, multures, woods, fishings, ‘annexis connexis,’ both property and tenantry, with tenants, tenantries, service of free-tenants, advocacy, donation, and gift of patronage of the kirks, benefices, and chaplainaries of all and sundry the fore-named lands and their pertinents, if any be, of all years and terms bygone, and that the same has been in our Sovereign Lady’s hands or her predecessors thereof by reason of non-entries or ward since the decease of the said umquhile William, or any others his predecessor’s last lawful possessors thereof, immediate tenants to our Sovereign Lady, or her predecessors of the same, and such-like of all years and terms to come; aye and while the lawful entry of the righteous heir or heirs thereto, being of lawful age, with the relief thereof, when it shall happen, together with the marriage of [Mary] Macleod [daughter] and heir of the said umquhile William, and failing of [her], by decease, unmarried, the marriage of any other heir or heirs, male or female, that shall happen to succeed to the said umquhile William, or to any others his predecessors in the lands and heritage aforesaid, with all profits of the said marriage, with power, etc. At Edinburgh, the 11th day of February the year of God 1552 years.—Per signaturam.’\*

The Queen Regent, among the other punishments which she inflicted on the Earl of Huntly for his negligence in the pursuit of John Moydertach of Clanranald, after the

\* *Register of the Privy Seal*, Vol. XXV., fol. 27.

battle of Blar-nan-leine, compelled him to relinquish the foregoing grant of the wardship and marriage of Mary Macleod; but Huntly attempted, while in disfavour in 1555, to sell the grant to the Earl of Argyll, who agreed to pay him for it twelve hundred merks, five hundred merks of which were to be paid at the following Michaelmas, within Saint Anthony's Aisle in the Kirk of St. Giles, Edinburgh, and the remainder on Saint Andrew's day, good security having to be provided in the meantime for the due implement of the bargain. The agreement was witnessed by Gilbert, Earl of Cassillis; John, Earl of Sutherland, and several others, and subscribed by the Earls of Argyll and Huntly.\* The transaction was, however, never carried into effect, for the Queen Regent, who disapproved of the support given by Argyll to the Protestants at that time, compelled Huntly to divest himself of his interest in the heiress of Macleod by a special deed of assignation in favour of the Queen Regent herself. She afterwards bestowed the coveted prize upon James Macdonald of Isla, who, though he was married to Agnes Campbell, the Earl of Argyll's sister, took part against his brother-in-law for the purpose of securing possession of the wealthy heiress of Dunvegan. The document handing over the young lady's rights to the Chief of Isla is dated the 27th day of June, 1559, and declares that the assignation is made to James Macdonald of Dunyveg and the Glens, his heirs and assigns, "and that for certane greit soumes of money" paid and delivered by him for the valuable favour conferred upon him.

William Macleod, who died in 1552-53 without male issue, was succeeded, as Chief of his Clan, and as the nominal proprietor of the lands of Troternish, Sleat, and North Uist, by his next brother,

#### X. DONALD MACLEOD,

Who at once seized, apparently with the full approval of

\* *General Register of Deeds*, Vol. I., p. 230. Recorded on the 18th of November, 1555.

the Clan, all the lands of Dunvegan, Glenelg, and others which legally belonged to his niece, Mary Macleod. He was not, however, permitted to remain long in possession, for in 1557 he was assassinated at Kingsburgh by John Og Macleod of Minginish. His murderer, John Og, failing Donald's only remaining brother, Tormod, would himself succeed as next heir to the Chiefship and the family estates legally vested in Donald. To clear all obstacles out of the way of this succession was undoubtedly the object of the assassin ; for at the same time that he killed Donald he tried by every means in his power to get at Tormod, who was then attending the University of Glasgow, with the view of assassinating him also, and clearing the way for his own succession to the Chiefship and estates of the Clan. It would appear that John Og was able to keep possession of the estates of the heiress and of Dunvegan Castle until his death. On the death of Donald, his next surviving brother,

#### XI. TORMOD MACLEOD,

Succeeded him in all his legal rights, and, as head of the Clan, but he appears to have been absent from the country for two years after—until 1559.

The traditional account of the history of this period of family feuds and assassinations, from which we glean the following narrative, has been supplied by one of the present representatives of "Sliochd Ian Mhic Leoid" the designation of the descendants of Tormod, one of the two sons of John Borb, 6th Chief of Macleod, by his wife Margaret, grand-daughter of the Earl of Douglas. This branch of the family long contended that Tormod, the second son of John Borb, VI. of Macleod, their ancestor, was the elder of the two brothers, who are said to have been twins. During his lifetime they say Tormod was treated as the first-born, and it is true that the claims of his race were kept up without intermission, and were, according to their account, at length asserted for a short time with success.

This Tormod, during his father's lifetime, joined Alexander, Lord of the Isles, and fought under him against James I.



at the battle fought in Lochaber in 1429, where, according to family tradition, Tormod commanded the Clan Macleod, and was killed. He had married a daughter of Chisholm of Strathglass, who, on hearing of his death, gave birth to a seven-months' child, named JOHN MACLEOD, the first of this family, afterwards known as the "Sliochd Ian Mhic Leoid." Young John was taken to Roderick Macleod of Lewis, who had married his father's sister, Margaret, of Dunvegan. Roderick reared the boy, and afterwards gave him Waternish in Skye, for his maintenance, and his own niece in marriage. By this lady he had issue—Tormod Macleod of Waternish, who married a daughter of Fraser of Glenelg, with issue—JOHN MACLEOD of Waternish, called "Ian a Chuail Bhàin," or "Fair-haired John."

On the death of William, 9th Chief of Macleod, in 1552-3, and in the absence from the island of his two brothers—Donald and Tormod—it became the duty of the next of kin to act as chief mourner, and to preside at the funeral-feast. This position was unanimously accorded by the assembled Clan to "Ian a Chuail Bhàin," who, it is maintained by his descendants, was at the same time hailed as the rightful Chief. About this period, Donald, the second brother of William, the 9th Chief, landed in Skye from Ireland, and, having heard of his brother William's death, and of the assumption of the Chiefship by his cousin John Macleod—"Ian a Chuail Bhàin"—he endeavoured to assert his own claim to that dignity. The Macleods, on hearing of Donald's arrival and of his claim to the Chiefship, held a meeting at Lyndale to consider the rights of the several claimants, including that of the Campbells, who had secured the guardianship of Mary, only child of the 9th Chief. No voice, it is said, was raised at the Lyndale meeting in favour of Donald or Tormod, the brothers of the late Chief, while all present rejected with scorn the claim of the Campbells, who claimed the right of succession for a female. The result of the meeting was that, for the second time, "Ian a Chuail Bhàin," who was then advanced in years, was declared Chief of the Clan.

He married Sheila, daughter of Archibald Macdonald, of Knock, in Sleat, with issue, two sons, one of whom, "Ian Dubh," assassinated his Chief Donald, X. of Macleod, all the members of his own family, and ultimately waded to the temporary possession of Dunvegan Castle and the estates through rivers of his kindred's blood.

Ian Dubh is described as a man of evil deeds, and as being dreaded and hated by all who knew him ; for there were no means, however atrocious, which he would scruple to use in order to carry his vile purposes, once decided upon, into effect.

While the meeting at which his father, "Ian a Chuail Bhàin," was elected Chief, was being held at Lyndale, Ian Dubh, with six of his followers, went secretly to Kìngs-burgh, where Donald, the second son of Alastair Crotach, and eldest surviving brother of the last Chief, was encamped, awaiting the decision of the Clan, not wishing to put himself in the power of Ian a Chuail Bhàin and his family. On his arrival in the district, Ian Dubh sent a message to Donald, falsely telling him that he had been declared Chief, and that he, Ian Dubh himself, in order to show his goodwill towards him, had come to be the first to communicate the good news, adding that he must know that he, John, had not been a favourite either with his own father or his elder brother ; that he could not expect any good from their success ; and that he would have gone in person to wait upon Donald, but for fear of his followers. He therefore proposed by his messenger that Donald should visit him, accompanied by six men, being the same number as he himself had along with him, and that they would then together concert the necessary measures on behalf of Donald, whose affairs, he was careful to urge, required secrecy and despatch. Donald foolishly believed all that Ian Dubh's messenger had said, and went to meet Ian at midnight, when, as pre-arranged, he and his followers selected each one of Donald's companions, shot an arrow at his man, and then despatched him with a thrust of his sword.

Having thus accomplished the murder of Donald and his six companions, Ian Dubh returned to Lyndale, and was present at his own father's installation, which took place without any news having been received of the dreadful deed which had just been committed at Kingsburgh. But when Ian a Chuail Bhàin heard of the death of his relative and competitor, Donald Macleod, and was satisfied that Ian Dubh was the author of it, he immediately ordered him to be placed under arrest. Ian Dubh, however, realising what was in store for him, made his escape before those entrusted with his father's commands could carry them into effect, and joined his uncle, the notorious Uistean MacGhilleaspuig Chleirich, under whose protection he remained until the death of his father a few months after Donald's assassination at Kingsburgh.

On the death of Ian a Chuail Bhàin, his grandson, Tormod Macleod, by the eldest son, who had died some time before, was too young to assume the Chiefship of the Clan, and a tutor or guardian fell to be appointed. This was done at Rodel by the assembled clansmen on the day of Ian a Chuail Bhàin's funeral, when the choice of all the members of the Clan present fell on Donald Breac, the third son of the deceased Ian a Chuail Bhàin, to the exclusion of Ian Dubh, who, as the eldest surviving son, would naturally be chosen to this important and responsible office were he not so universally detested by all his father's followers. Ian Dubh, however, who was at this time living in a stronghold belonging to Uistean MacGhilleaspuig Chleirich, in the absence of the Clan at his father's funeral, collected a body of desperate men like himself, surprised, and took the Castle of Dunvegan, after putting the warders and all who opposed him therein to death, and taking prisoner the widow of his own eldest brother, Tormod, who predeceased his father.

When Donald Breac and his three nephews, Tormod's sons, returned to Dunvegan after the funeral of Ian a Chuail Bhàin, the gates of the Castle, after they had passed in, were closed behind them, and their followers were



refused admittance. Donald Breac was first made acquainted with the situation by the appearance before him of his brother, Ian Dubh, in full armour, and surrounded by several armed strangers. The two brothers rushed furiously at each other, when Donald was slain, and Tormod's three innocent boys, the eldest of whom was Ian a Chuail Bhàin's direct heir, were put to death in cold blood by Ian Dubh's own hands.

Ian Dubh now determined to exact by force the obedience which he could not command by the attachment of the people. He seized the wives and children of several of the leading men of the Clan as hostages for their husbands' behaviour, and for a time confined all his own brothers in Dunvegan Castle, only releasing them on swearing allegiance to himself as their Chief.

The distrust and suspicion created in the minds of the Clan gave rise to the hopes and pretensions of the Campbells of Argyle, which had for a time been laid aside ; and this was considered a favourable opportunity for making an attempt to secure the large possessions of the Macleods, which they claimed as the guardians of Mary, only child of William, the 9th Chief. With this view a large force of Campbells proceeded to the Isle of Skye, and landed at Roag, where they were well received by MacSween, who was closely related to their leader. A message was sent to Ian Dubh at Dunvegan Castle, explaining the cause of their visit, and offering him handsome terms if he would resign his usurped authority and position without any dispute, but threatening dire vengeance if he should continue to resist. Ian Dubh at once agreed to meet the Campbells and to enter into negotiation with them at the Church of Kilmuir, situated between Roag, where they landed, and Dunvegan. Here it was arranged that the Castle of Pabbay, in Harris, should be at once given up to the Campbells and that the rest of the estates should be handed over to them on the death of Ian Dubh. When all was thus settled, Ian Dubh invited eleven of the chief men from Argyleshire to a feast at Dunvegan Castle, whither they went, accompanied by

only a few followers. At table each Campbell was placed between two of Ian Dubh's friends. After the feast was over a cup full of blood instead of wine was ominously placed before each of the strangers, who at the same moment received his death-thrust from the dirk of one of the Macleods who sat next to him, Ian Dubh stabbing the leader to the heart with his own hands. A few of the servants of the murdered Campbells escaped, and gave the alarm to their friends, who, being panic-struck, made for their galleys, and sailed from Skye, never again to return to claim the ancient inheritance of the Macleods.

Shortly after this, in 1559, Tormod Macleod, the third son of Alastair Crotach, VIII. of Macleod, escaped from the French, who had a few years before taken him captive, and returned to Scotland, and, assisted by the Earl of Argyll, Maclean of Duart, and the Frasers of Lovat, proceeded to Skye to claim the Chiefship as the rightful heir and legal successor of his late brother and father. None of the Clan having come to the assistance of Ian Dubh, he was obliged to shut himself up in Dunvegan Castle, depending solely on the aid he should receive from Uistean MacGhilleaspuig Chleirich, but before help from that quarter could arrive, Torquil MacSween, the warder, agreed to give up the castle to Tormod Macleod. MacSween secured all the gates and passages except one which led to the landing-rock and communicated directly with Ian Dubh's sleeping apartment. This passage was guarded by Ian's four foster-brothers, who could neither be bribed by Tormod Macleod nor displaced by Torquil MacSween. The noise made by Tormod and his followers in entering the castle alarmed Ian Dubh's guards, who at once roused their master from his sleep, and managed to secure his escape to his galley, which was moored close at hand below the castle walls. He immediately set sail for Pabbay, in Harris, where, on his arrival, he was refused admittance to the castle. Fully alive to his danger, he then sailed for Ireland, where he lived for some time a wretched wanderer, but was at

length seized by order of one of the O'Donnell Chiefs, and put to death by having a red-hot iron forced through his bowels. He was married, but died without issue.

Ian a Chuail Bhàin had, in addition to Tormod and Ian Dubh already mentioned, a family of ten sons and four daughters. All the surviving sons and their families are said to have been massacred by order of Tormod Macleod, XI. of Macleod, when he succeeded to the Chiefship, except one boy, Tormod, whose escape, through the affection of his foster-father, shall be described under the families of "Sliochd Ian Mhic Leoid," of which he became the sole connecting link with the present day.\*

The preceding account, made up from manuscripts in possession of Ian Dubh's descendants, is corroborated by authentic documents. The "John Og" of Minginish and the "Ian Dubh" of Meidle seem to be one and the same person, and his family appear for a time to have possessed both Minginish and Waternish—the former as the paternal inheritance of his ancestors, and the latter through the marriage of Ian Dubh's grandfather, Tormod, to the niece of Roderick Macleod of Lewis, who gave him these lands in Skye for his maintenance after he had been brought up by Roderick in the Lewis and married his relative, as already described. That John Og of Minginish, otherwise "Ian Dubh," assassinated his cousin and Chief, with so many of his other relations, and obtained possession of and continued for some time to reside in Dunvegan Castle, is placed beyond question by the following State document, directed to Hugh Rose, "the Black Baron" of Kilravock, by the Queen Regent, in 1557: —

"Trusty friend, after hearty commendation. Forasmuch as it is not unknown to you how John Og Macleod of Minginish in the month of March last bypast cruelly murdered and slew umquhile [Donald] Macleod brother german to umquhile William Macleod of Dunvegan, and took the house of Dunvegan and witholds the same in contrary to our dearest daughter's authority. For repressing

\* From a manuscript in possession of Donald Grant Macleod, one of the representatives of this family, and Judge of Maulmain, in Burmah.

the which attempt and recovering of the said house we intend, God willing, to send certain men-of-war by sea, with an army by land, who will be carried in boats and galleys which we have ordained to be prepared to that effect, how soon he may goodly get the same prepared. Wherefore, we pray you effectuously that ye, with your kin, friends, and all that will do for you, fail not to be in readiness upon six hours' warning, with forty days' victual, to pass forward at such day and place as ye shall be advertised shortly hereafter, as ye favour the service of our dearest daughter, and will do us acceptable pleasure in that behalf. At Edinburgh the 12th day of May, 1557. (Signed) MARIE R."\*

It will be remembered that in 1542, only fifteen years before this date, Alexander, VIII. of Macleod, obtained a charter from James V. to himself in life-rent, to William his eldest son, to Donald his second son, to Tormod his third son and their heirs male, in fee, of the lands of Troternish, and failing them to John Macleod of Minginish [see pp. 22-23]. This last-named John Macleod was apparently John Og's father, so that in the event of the latter having succeeded in murdering his uncle Tormod, he would then have legally succeeded to these lands and to the Chiefship of the Clan.

Gregory so well describes the relative position of parties at this period that we shall quote him at length, and afterwards give the documents on which he founds his remarks, but does not print. In this reign (Queen Mary's), the Earl of Argyll, he says, contrived to extend his influence to the North Isles, and over two of the most powerful tribes in that quarter, the Clan-Donald of Skye and North Uist, and the Clan-Leod of Harris, Dunvegan and Glenelg. The mode in which this object was attained is so characteristic of the policy of the house of Argyll that it seems to merit some detail in reference to the rapid increase of the power of that noble family.

William Macleod of Harris, chief of the "Siol Tormoid," was the undisputed proprietor of the estates of Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg, under a particular destination, which, on his death in 1553, caused these extensive

\* *The Family of Rose of Kiltravock*, pp. 122-123.

possessions to descend to his daughter and heiress, Mary. He was, at the same time, nominal proprietor of Sleat, Troternish, and North Uist, the possession of which, we have seen, the Siol Tormoid had unsuccessfully disputed with the Clan-Donald. On the death of William Macleod, his claim to the last-mentioned was inherited by his brother and heir male, Donald. The Siol Tormoid was now placed in a position which, though quite intelligible on the principle of feudal law, was totally opposed to the Celtic customs that still prevailed, to a great extent, throughout the Highlands and Isles. A female and a minor was the legal proprietrix of the ancient possessions of the tribe, which, by her marriage, might be conveyed to another and a hostile family; while her uncle, the natural leader of the Clan, according to ancient custom, was left without any means to keep up the dignity of a Chief, or to support the Clan against its enemies. His claims on the estates possessed by the Clan-Donald were worse than nugatory, as they threatened to involve him in a feud with that powerful and warlike tribe, in case he should take any steps to enforce them. In these circumstances, Donald Macleod seized, apparently with the consent of his Clan, the estates which legally belonged to his niece, the heiress; and thus, in practice, the feudal law was made to yield to ancient and inveterate custom. Donald did not enjoy these estates long, being murdered in Troternish by a relation of his own, John Og Macleod, who, failing Tormod, the only remaining brother of Donald, would have become the heir male of the family. John Og next plotted the destruction of Tormod, who was at the time a student in the University of Glasgow; but in this he was foiled by the interposition of the Earl of Argyll. He contrived, notwithstanding, to retain possession of the estates of the heiress, and of the command of the Clan, till his death in 1559. In the meantime, the feudal rights of the wardship, relief, and marriage of the heiress of Harris, were eagerly sought after by various powerful individuals. They were first bestowed, in 1553,



by the Regent Arran, upon the Earl of Huntly, who afterwards proposed to sell his interest in the heiress and her property, to the fourth Earl of Argyll, for a large sum of money. But Huntly, having fallen into disgrace with the Queen Regent, was compelled to relinquish his bargain with Argyll, and to resign into her hands the claims he had acquired from Arran to the guardianship of Mary Macleod. The Regent, while endeavouring in 1559, to secure the assistance of James Macdonald of Isla against the Protestants, of whom the fifth Earl of Argyll was one of the principal leaders, committed the feudal guardianship of the young heiress to that Chief. In 1562, we find that the person of the young lady had, by some accident, come into the custody of Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, who, having refused to give her up to her lawful guardian, James Macdonald, was at length compelled to deliver her to Queen Mary, with whom she remained for some years as a maid of honour, being no doubt one of the Queen's celebrated *Maries*. Macdonald seems now to have made over his claims to Argyll, who finally exercised the right of guardianship, by giving Mary Macleod in marriage to his kinsman, Duncan Campbell, younger of Auchinbreck. But previous to the marriage, the Earl, sensible of the difficulty which would attend any attempt to put an individual of his Clan in possession of the territories of the Siol Tormoid, even although he had the law in his favour, entered into the following arrangements, the most judicious that could be devised for making the most of his position at the time. His first agreement was with Tormod Macleod, who had been for some years in actual possession of Harris and the other estates of the heiress, and had already given to the Earl (for the good offices of the latter) his bond of service for himself and his Clan. It was arranged that Macleod should renounce, in favour of Argyll, all claim he had to the lands of Clan-Donald; that he should likewise pay the sum of one thousand merks towards the dowry of his niece. Argyll, on the other hand, engaged

to procure from Mary Macleod, and any husband she might marry, a complete surrender of her title to the lands of Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg; and to obtain for Tormod a Crown charter of that estate. His next agreement was with Donald Gorm Macdonald of Sleat; and in consideration of that Chief paying five hundred merks towards the dowry of Mary Macleod, and of his likewise giving his bond of service for himself and his Clan to Argyll, the latter engaged to make him his vassal in the lands of Troternish, Sleat, and North Uist, to which the Macdonalds had at present no legal claim. Argyll's agreement with Tormod Macleod was actually carried into effect; but circumstances seemed to have interfered with the final completion of his contract with Macdonald. It is evident, however, that, although in the case of the Siol Tormoid at this time, ancient custom prevented the feudal law of succession from being carried into effect in its full extent, yet the Earl of Argyll did not surrender his legal claims without indemnifying himself amply for the sacrifice.\*

The following is the contract entered into, in 1559-60, between the Earl of Argyll and Norman Macleod, with consent of his guardian and sister's husband, Hector Maclean of Duart, and mentioned by Gregory:—

“At Dunoon, the first day of March, the year of God 1559 years: It is accorded, agreed, and finally accorded, betwixt a noble and potent Lord Archibald, Earl of Argyll, on the one part, and Tormod Macleod, son to [umquhile] Alexander Macleod of the Harris, as principal in this contract, and Hector Maclean of Duart as principal favourer and tutor to the said Tormod, on the other part, in manner, form, and effect, as after follows, that is to say:—Forasmuch as the said Earl has redeemed and obtained the said Tormod out of the captivity and enemies' hands, wherein he was with the Frenchmen; yet the said Earl obliges him to fortify, help, and set forward the said Tormod to win and enjoy the heritage and rooms that pertained to his father and brother of Harris, with the pertinents Tewedes [?] and Glenelg, and all other bounds whereof they have old title

\* *Western Highlands and Isles*, pp. 203-207.

of heritage in special, and shall be a good lord and master to the said Tormod in all his actions and just causes ; and to the effect that the same may come the better forward, has delivered the said Tormod to the said Hector to be helped and fortified ; for the which cause the said Tormod, by these presents, gives and grants his bond of manrent, his faithful and true service, with all his kin and friends, and his heirs and successors of the Harris, to the said Earl, his heirs and successors, of Argyll, perpetually ; also shall not marry but with the advice of the said Earl, whose counsel he shall take in marrying a wife ; and being established in his rooms of the Harris and Tewedess, shall pay the value or estimation of the avail of the ward and marriage of the Harris and the labours and travels of the said Earl to him and to the said Hector, to be divided as the said Earl thinks cause betwixt him and the said Hector Maclean ; and in case the said Tormod fail in any part of the premises, he is content to be counted unworthy to enjoy the room of a gentleman for ever in Scotland, but to be perpetually defamed ; and also the said Hector to be perpetual enemy to him, dissolving the bond of kindness that is betwixt their houses, in all times to come ; and also the said Tormod not to pass to the North Isles, but with the advice and licence of the said Earl at his passage there ; and in case his friends come to him, that they ratify and approve this bond, before his departing to the North.”\*

The reference to Tormod having been a captive in the hands of Frenchmen would be explained by the probability of his having been captured by some of the French Auxiliaries, who, during the Regency of Queen Mary of Guise, were employed in maintaining the internal peace of the Kingdom of Scotland.

On the 21st May, 1562, at Edinburgh, in presence of the Queen and the Lords of the Privy Council, appeared Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, “who being commanded by letters and also by writings direct from the Queen’s Grace, to exhibit, produce, and present before Her Highness, Mary Macleod, daughter and heir of umquhile William

\* This contract is given at length at pp. 91-92 of the *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, and is taken by the editor of that valuable collection from the original document in the Dunvegan Charter Chest, by permission of the late John Norman Macleod of Macleod.



Macleod of Harris, conform to the letters and charges direct thereupon ; and declared that James Macdonald had an action depending before the Lords of Session against him for deliverance of the said Mary to him, and that therefore he could not goodly deliver her ; notwithstanding the which the Queen's Majesty ordained the said Kenneth to deliver the said Mary to Her Highness, and granted that he should incur no skaith therethrough at the hands of the said James, or any others, notwithstanding any title or action they had against him therefor. And the said Kenneth, knowing his dutiful obedience to the Queen's Majesty, and that the Queen had ordained him to deliver the said Mary to Her Highness in manner foresaid, he on no wise could disobey ; and therefore delivered the said Mary to the Queen's Majesty, conform to her ordinance foresaid."\* For a few years after this, Mary Macleod was a member of the Queen's household. This is conclusively proved by several entries in the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland during 1562, and again in 1564-5.

The following contract, between Argyll and Tormod Macleod, is apparently supplementary to the one dated in 1559-60, already quoted :—

"At Edinburgh, the twenty-fourth day of February, the year of God, 1566, it is appointed, agreed, and finally ended, betwixt one right noble and mighty Lord Archibald, Earl of Argyll, for himself, and having the right of the ward and relief of all lands which pertained to umquhile William Macleod of Dunvegan, with the marriage of Mary Macleod, only daughter and apparent heir to the said umquhile William, and also accepting the burden upon him for her on that one part : And Tormod Macleod, brother and heir male and of tailzie to the said umquhile William, and also heir male to umquhile Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan, his father, of the lands of Troternish, Sleat, and North Uist, on the other part, in manner following, that is to say :—Forasmuch as the said noble Lord, having the right to the gift of the ward, relief, and marriage foresaid, shall do his diligence to obtain the said Mary Macleod to be heritably infest as heir to the said umquhile William, her father, and failing thereof, as heir to the said umquhile

\* *Register of the Privy Council.*

Alexander, his goodsir, of all lands untailzied contained in the charter made to the said umquhile Alexander by our Sovereign Lord that last deceased, viz. :—the Lands of Glenelg, Minginish, Bracadale, Lyndale, Duirinish, Harris, and Hirta [St. Kilda], if the old charter and seisins may be had, and failing thereof shall do diligence to get to the said Mary, of our said Sovereign and her successors, a new infeftment, with charter and precept of seisin, with supplying of all faults, of lands untailzied specified in the charter granted by our said Sovereign's umquhile father to the said umquhile Alexander of before, and the said Mary being heritably infeft therein [he] shall cause her, with consent of her curators or spouse, if she any shall happen to have for the time, infeft again in the most sure manner the said Tormod and his heirs heritable in the said whole untailzied lands to be holden of our said Sovereign and her successors either by resignation or confirmation, as he shall think most expedient and please to devise after the form of her said infeftment; and also the said noble Lord, as having the right to the ward, relief, and marriage foresaid, shall provide the said Mary Macleod of a husband and party agreeable to her estate; and so being married, [he] shall cause her, with consent and assent of her said future spouse, ratify and approve the said infeftment to be given to the said Tormod of the said untailzied lands; and also the said Earl shall at the time of the said ratification discharge the said Tormod and his heirs of all maills, ferms, profits, and duties of the said untailzied lands of all years and terms byegone intromitted with by him during the time of the said ward; which infeftment being past and ended upon the said Earl's expenses, in manner foresaid, the said Tormod shall incontinent thereafter make himself to be heritably infeft in all lands and annual rents contained in the charter tailzie of his said umquhile father as heir of tailzie to him; and immediately thereafter shall infeft the said noble Lord and his heirs therein heritably to be holden of our said Sovereign and her successors either by resignation or confirmation at the option of the said Earl as freely as the said umquhile Alexander, his father, held the same of before, the said Earl obtaining our Sovereign or her successor's consent thereto; and also the said Tormod shall content, pay, and deliver to the said Mary and her said spouse future, the sum of one thousand pounds money in contentation of his part of the tocher; and, further, the said Tormod shall renounce all right, kindness, title, interest

and possession, together with the by-run profits, maills and duties which he had, has, or may claim to the said tailzied lands or bailliary thereof, for him, his heirs, and successors forever, and shall pretend no right thereto in times coming for any cause by-gone; and also the said Tormod, being infest as said is, shall deliver to the said noble Lord all old evidents which he has or may have of any of the lands tailzied above written made to any of his predecessors of before." [Then follows the usual clause agreeing to the registration of the deed, etc.]

By another contract, dated the third day of March, 1566-7, Archibald, fifth Earl of Argyll, undertakes to obtain for Donald Macdonald of Sleat heritable infestment in the lands of Troternish, Sleat, and North Uist, to be held of Argyll himself on payment by Macdonald to him of one thousand merks Scots, and five hundred merks towards the dowry of Mary Macleod, and on his giving in addition his bond of manrent to Argyll himself "in the best and straitest form that the said Earl will devise." Macdonald was also "to fortify and assist" Tormod Macleod "in his causes and defenses lawful and honest in time coming when he shall be required thereto by the said noble Earl."\*

On the 15th of September, 1572, James VI. granted to Mary Macleod a charter of all the paternal estates of the family, including part of the lands and the bailliary of Troternish,† but the inclusion of the latter is supposed to be a clerical error.

In 1573, the heiress of Macleod married Duncan Campbell of Castleswynie, younger of Auchinbreck, a kinsman of the Earl of Argyll, when it was agreed to convey all the lands described in the charter of 1572 to her uncle, Tormod Macleod, by a Charter of Sale, as appears from an unsigned and undated Charter of Sale preserved in the Dunvegan Charter Chest, and quoted in the *Transactions of the Iona Club*. This arrangement was found to be surrounded by several

\* *General Register of Deeds*, Vol. IX., fol. 20. Recorded 5th of March, 1566-67.

† *Register of the Great Seal*, Vol. 33, No. 9.

legal difficulties and it was departed from. Tormod was, however, finally infeft and seized in all the lands named in the Royal Charter of 1572, in favour of his niece, upon a Charter of Resignation under the Great Seal, dated 4th of February, 1579-80, proceeding upon the resignation of Mary Macleod, with consent of her husband, Duncan Campbell, heir-apparent of Auchinbreck, in favour of her uncle, Tormod Macleod, who was duly infeft in the whole family estates in the month of July, 1580.\*

It was in 1577, towards the close of Tormod's rule, that the massacre of the Macdonalds of Eigg, the most cold-blooded and atrocious recorded in Highland history, was perpetrated by the Macleods. Dr. Skene prints a paper in the appendix to his third volume of *Celtic Scotland*, by which the date of this massacre has been positively fixed. This document is entitled a "Description of the Isles of Scotland," and Skene shows that it must have been written between the years 1577 and 1595. The former year is mentioned in it in connection with the slaughter of the people of Eigg by the Macleods, while John Stewart of Appin, who died in 1595, is mentioned as having been alive at the date when the Description was written. The document, Dr. Skene says, "has all the appearance of an official report, and was probably intended for the use of James the Sixth, who was then preparing to attempt the improvement of the Isles, and increase the Royal revenue from them." This sufficiently fixes the date of both the document and the massacre of the Macdonalds of Eigg, to which it refers in the following terms:—

"Eg is an Ile verie fertile and commodious for all kind of bestiall and corns, speciallie aittis, for eftir everie boll of aittis sawing in the same ony yeir will grow 10 or 12 bollis agane. It is 30 merk land, and it pertains to the Clan

\* Mary Macleod, on the death of her first husband, Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck—by whom she had issue, a son and heir and a daughter who married Sir James Stewart of Bute—married, secondly, Macneill of Barra, and by that marriage became the progenitrix of the subsequent Chiefs of that family.

Rannald, and will raise 60 men to the weiris. It is five mile lang and three mile braid. Thair is mony coves under the earth in this Ile, quhilk the cuntrie folks uses as strengthis, hiding thame and thair geir thairintill; quhairthrow it hapenit that in March, anno 1577, weiris and inmitie betwix the said Clan Renald and McCloyd Herreik, the people, with ane callit Angus John McMudzartsonne,\* their capitaine, fled to ane of the saidis coves, taking with thame thair wives, bairnis, and geir, quhairof McCloyd Herreik being advertisit landed with ane great armie in the said Ile, and came to the cove, and pat fire thairto, and smorit [smothered] the hail people thairin, to the number of 395 persones, men, wyfe, and bairnis."

This should finally settle the date as well as who were the authors of this unparalleled atrocity, hitherto charged to the discredit of Alastar Crotach VIII. of Macleod, who has to account for quite sufficient crimes of his own, without having to bear the burden of those of others. It will be remembered that it was in this same month of March, 1577, that, according to the Queen Regent's summons to the Baron of Kilravock to eject Ian Dubh, or Ian Og of Minginish, from the Castle of Dunvegan, that the latter took possession of that stronghold. At that period, Norman, the legal heir of Macleod, was absent from the country. It would thus seem to be clearly established that Ian Dubh or Ian Og—for the two descriptions appear to apply to the same person—was the author of the massacre of Eigg, as he was of the assassination of his own Chief, Donald Macleod, X. of Macleod, and several others of his own most intimate and nearest relatives.

The following description of this atrocious massacre is given by Professor Jameson :—

"A party of the Macleods having landed upon the small island of Eilean Chastel, behaved so outrageously to the women who were there tending cattle, that their friends instantly pursued and put several of them to death. This so enraged the Clan of Macleod, that they determined to take revenge, by ravaging the Isle and putting to death the

\*This Angus was fourth son of the brave John Moydertach, Chief of Clanranald.—See Mackenzie's *History of the Macdonalds*, p. 402.



murderers of their brothers. The Islanders, sensible of their weakness, prepared to shelter themselves upon the first appearance of an enemy. Soon afterwards a number of boats were seen approaching the Isle, when the trembling inhabitants retired in despair to this cave, their only refuge. The Macleods soon landed and traversed the whole Island ; but as they could discover no human being they concluded that the Macdonalds had made their escape to the Mainland, or to some of the adjacent Islands. Disappointed and enraged they were about to leave Eigg to return to Skye, when, unfortunately, one of the horde observed the mark of footsteps on the snow, and thus they were enabled to discover the cave where the wretched inhabitants had taken refuge. Shrieks of despair were interrupted for a little by a proposal of the Macleods that, if the murderers were given up to punishment, the other lives should be spared. This was only a cruel aggravation of their sufferings, as the Macleods were the aggressors. Connected, as the Macdonalds were, by the dearest ties, they were determined to perish together rather than to give up one of their number. The Macleods, with the most savage barbarity, instantly kindled great fires at the mouth of the cave, which soon suffocated the whole of the miserable inhabitants. One often listens even to such a tale, as to the description of a battle, without much interest ; but the view of the scene never fails to awaken a keener sympathy—the circumstances are brought nearer to the mind, and seem to be passing before us. We stood on the very ground where this tragedy was acted, and felt our sensibility increased by the sequestered and dreary place in which the deed was done. But even this interest was faint when compared to that we felt when, after creeping a considerable way through a low and narrow entrance, half-covered with brushwood, we found ourselves at last within a large and gloomy cave, the extent and height of which we could not distinguish, and perceived the gleams of the lights we carried reflected from the bones and skulls of the unhappy Macdonalds. The force with which the truth and all the circumstances of

this dreadful tale struck at this moment upon our minds, and the strange variety of sensations excited by an event so extraordinary, it is not easy to find words to express. The entrance of the cave is low and narrow for about 12 feet, the breadth 14 feet, and in length it extends inwards nearly 213 feet. The air was damp and raw. Our lights struck faintly on the black sides of the cave, without dispelling that deep and solemn gloom which harmonized so well with the melancholy story. The projecting masses of rock were dimly illuminated, while the skulls and scattered bones caught a strong light. Our figures, too, touched with the pale flame, showed the features, or an outstretched arm, while the parts of the body removed from the light were lost in the gloom. The whole scene was admirably adapted for the canvas; but it would require a very rare talent in the painter who should attempt it.”\*

According to the traditional account of the massacre current in the Isle of Skye, the Macleods, having misconducted themselves towards the women of Eigg, were seized by the Macdonalds, bound hand and foot, and set adrift in the boat which carried them to the Island. In this helpless condition they were carried by wind and tide to the entrance of Loch Dunvegan, where they were picked up by Macleod himself, as he was returning in his galley from the Orkneys. Then followed the expedition to Eigg, with the shocking results already told.

The sanguinary engagement at Waternish between the Macdonalds and the Macleods, is said to have taken place a few years after the Eigg massacre, but it is impossible to fix the date quite accurately. A number of Macleods were assembled in the Church of Trumpan, when a party of Macdonalds suddenly surrounded and set fire to the building, destroying all the unfortunate inmates except one young woman, who escaped with the loss of one of her breasts. The arrival of the boats of the enemy had, however, been observed by the people in other parts of

\* Quoted in the *New Statistical Account for Inverness-shire* under “Parish of Small Isles” pp. 146-148.

the district, and the Macdonalds were attacked by a body of infuriated Macleods, who exacted a terrible revenge for the burning of their church and kinsfolk. The victorious Macleods ranged the bodies of the slain Macdonalds in line beneath a stone wall near the battle field, and then overturned it upon them. Hence the battle was and is to this day called *Blar-milleadh-garaidh*,—the battle of the destruction of the wall.

The author of the *Statistical Account* says that there are indistinct accounts preserved of another battle fought by these hostile clans, known as Blar Bhaternish, or the Battle of Waternish. The Macleods were about to give up the contest when the celebrated Fairy Flag was unfurled, which immediately caused the enemy to see three times as many Macleods as were really opposed to them. The Macdonalds, on observing so sudden and mysterious an augmentation of their foes, at once became panic-stricken, and they were completely routed.

We are indebted for the following interesting account of these sanguinary engagements, as narrated in Waternish, to Major Neil Macleod, R.A., himself a native of the district. This battle—Blar Milleadh Garaidh—he says, was fought on a low beach at the head of a strip of land called Airdmòr, which runs out from the high coast of Trumpan for about a mile, and is bound at the inner end by a high ridge upon which the ruins of the old church stands in the centre of the district cemetery. The township of Trumpan is half-a-mile from this ridge, and on the same elevation; but Airdmòr is not seen from Trumpan, being on too low a level. The highest part of the ridge is called “Cnoc a Chrochaidh,” or the Hanging Hillock, because the son of Judge Morrison of the Lewis was hanged on the top of it, on three of his own oars. Young Morrison had been visiting Macleod at Dunvegan Castle, and he killed all the Macleods of Isle Isay (on the west coast of Waternish) on his way back. Pursued by sea, he tried to escape by land, and was caught near the top of the ridge, and sentenced to be hanged. Before his execu-



tion he asked to be allowed to go aside for prayer, which permission was granted to him. Anne MacInnes of Trumpan, whom, our informant says, he knew well when a boy, found a large quantity of old silver coins in a deep crevice of the very rock on which Morrison prayed, and it is believed that he deposited all the money he had in the rock while saying his prayers. The part on which the church stood is still called "Druim na Croise," or the Ridge of the Cross, on account of a large ancient cross that stood near it.

About the year 1580, three years after the Eigg massacre, the Clanranalds of Uist, and other Macdonalds, resolved to punish the Macleods by fire and sword, in retaliation for previous invasions by the Macleods; and, beginning at Dunvegan Head, and, taking advantage of a heavy fog, they sailed on a Saturday for Skye. The first they met was Finlay Macleod of Galtrigil, who was ling-fishing at Dunvegan Head, with four companions, and the Macdonalds at once despatched a swift sixteen-oar boat to capture and destroy them, to prevent alarm. On observing the boat full of armed men, Finlay cut away the lines and made for the shore, which he gained amid a shower of arrows from the enemy's long boat. His men, being unarmed, rushed into a cave, where they were cut to pieces. Finlay took to the steep and high brae, leaving his pursuers far behind; and, on reaching the top, he gave the alarm by three shouts, which the watchman on Dunvegan tower heard, a distance of five miles. Macleod at once despatched the "Crànn Tàire," with one end burnt and dipped in blood, to intimate that his people were being slaughtered and their houses burned.

As Finlay was a man of renown in strength and prowess, a passing notice of him will not be out of place. He was commonly called "Fionnlaidh na Plaide Bàine," or Finlay of the White Blanket, because he never wore anything in bonnet, jacket, shirt, kilt, or hose, but home-made white blanket. In his time might was right, and all claims were exacted and maintained by physical force.

Macleod, the Chief at the time, kept twelve powerful men called "Buanaichean," or conquerors, who, being a law unto themselves, oppressed the tenants by extortion and by billeting themselves upon the people, none daring to question their conduct except Finlay, who reported their conduct to the Chief. These men were chosen by tests of strength—lifts, throwing the stone, hammer, and caber, or a young tree with roots and branches. Then a bull would be killed, when they had to twist off his four legs at the knees by mere strength of arm, a feat known as "Toirt a mach dòrn bhuar," or Taking off cows' feet, after which, if successful, they were engaged as Buanaichean.

These twelve men on one occasion came to Finlay's house when he was out fishing, and asked his wife to prepare puddings for their dinner; and to punish Finlay for reporting them to Macleod, they killed his best cow to feast themselves on for a month. When Finlay returned home he at once divined their intentions, and on being told what they had done, he demanded the reason why they had killed his cow. They replied that it was merely to please themselves, and warned him that the less he said about it the better, or they would kill another. "Then," said Finlay, "if that is your game, gentlemen, I must play my best trump," and calling his wife and children out of the room, he proceeded to the barn and soon returned with a heavy ash flail supple, with which he made a murderous onset on the Buanaichean, making their blood, skin, and hair fly in all directions, and laying low all who attempted to move or escape. Several, to avoid his dreadful blows, threw themselves on the floor where they lay bleeding, groaning, and trembling. They offered to pay the value of the cow if allowed to get away, but this was scornfully refused. Finlay requested his wife to dress their wounds, and afterwards bind the men with the long lines, which she did, while he watched over them with his dreaded supple. Next morning he took them in a boat to Dunvegan. When Macleod saw his twelve champions bound and so severely punished

by one man he indignantly dismissed them, and never after kept any Buanaichean in Dunvegan.

But to return to the Macdonald invasion. The Macleods were soon under arms, and the Chief went out with his boats and moved about Loch Follart sword in hand until break of day, but could find no enemy. He landed at the Island of Isay, when he observed a large fleet of boats at the head of Airdmòr; for when the Macdonalds found it dangerous to land on the Duirinish side they sailed across the loch and collected, during the night, all the sheep and cattle they could find in Waternish below the high ridge on which the church stood, at the inner end of Airdmòr, intending to embark them there, where the water was deeper and where the place was covered from view by the ridge. When the Macleods of the district went to church according to custom, at sunrise, the Macdonalds surrounded it, barricaded the door, and, being a thatched building, they easily managed to set it on fire. The Macleods forced the barricade but were cut to pieces as they came out. And not one escaped alive except a woman who was left for dead among the slain, with one of her breasts cut clean off. She died from loss of blood two miles from the church, and the place is still called after her name, which was "Mararat Macleod." It is related erroneously that the unfortunate woman came out through one of the windows. That was impossible, for the openings are only four inches wide by two feet high. Besides, she had no better chance of escaping alive through the window than by the door.

But swift retribution was at hand for this cruel butchery; for Macleod sent a strong party to Waternish at daybreak to warn the people, who quickly assembled, and on seeing their church in flames and surrounded by the enemy, they rushed upon the Macdonalds with terrible fury, following the Fairy Flag of Macleod. The Clanranald became panic-stricken, and ran for their boats, followed by the Macleods, who cut to pieces every one they could overtake; but, on reaching the beach, the Macdonalds were in utter despair, for Macleod had previously removed their boats.

Finding themselves in this terrible dilemma, they formed under cover of a high loose stone wall, built above the beach to shelter the crops. The Macleods charged the wall in line and threw it down, when a savage struggle ensued, in which all the Macdonalds were slain. Their bodies were covered over with the stones of the dyke where they fell, "and my father," says Major Macleod, "saw several of their bones, in his day, on the beach." The place is called "Milleadh Garaidh" to this day; which means "The destruction of the wall."

The battle of Waternish was fought between the Macdonalds and Macleods in the braes of Trumpan a few years after the battle of Milleadh Garaidh. Another body of the Macdonalds came at night through the hills to Waternish, to surprise the Macleods and avenge the slaughter of Milleadh Garaidh, but finding the Macleods prepared and on the look-out for them, they changed their purpose, gathered all the sheep and cattle they could find, and moved away with them; but the Macleods, having been apprised of their conduct, followed them, came up to them at daybreak, two miles from the township, and a bloody battle was fought, in which the second party of the Macdonalds were nearly all killed.

The last survivors in this skirmish were two blacksmiths in full armour. They fought desperately for some time without apparent advantage on either side; but at last the Macleod blacksmith was badly wounded, and began, from loss of blood, to show signs of weakness, when his wife, who came to look for his body, appeared on the scene, and observing her husband alive but in danger, went behind Macdonald and struck him a tremendous blow on the head with her distaff, saying loudly, "Turn to me," which, in the confusion, he did, when Macleod took the opportunity of running him through between the joints of his armour. The place is still known as "Beinn a Ghobha," or The blacksmith's hill.

Two of the leaders of the Macleods fell this day. One was John, son of Alexander Macleod of Trumpan, who

was in full armour, and did great execution, but a body of the Macdonalds closed round him, as they could not stand before him, and ran their daggers through him in several places at the joints of his armour. A large cross was erected to his memory at the spot where he fell, and the place is called *Crois mhic Alastair* (cross of Alexander's son) to this day. The other was Roderick Macleod of Unish, a place situated at the point of Waternish. He was a powerful warrior, commonly called "Ruairidh Mac Iain Bhatornish" or Roderick son of John of Waternish. His name is still continued in Major Macleod's family. He also was in full armour, and did terrible execution, no one being able to resist the heavy sweep of his sword and powerful arm. But the Macdonalds rushed upon him in a body as their only chance, just as they did on his nephew, John Macleod, and in savage despair managed to cut both his legs at the bend of the knees; yet even then, standing on the remaining stumps, he continued to cut down his assailants until he died from loss of blood in their midst. The knoll on which this hero fell is called by two names to this day, viz., "Crocan Mhic Iain," or The knoll of John's son, and *Crois Bhàn*, or the White Cross, from a high wooden cross which was erected to Roderick's memory, and which was painted white, or was of white wood.

Tormod Macleod is described as "a man of remarkable fortitude and resolution, of great integrity and honour," and as one who always adhered to the interest of Queen Mary.

He married, first, Giles, daughter of Hector Og Maclean, XII. of Duart by his first wife, Lady Janet Campbell, daughter of Archibald, fourth Earl of Argyll, with issue—

1. William, his heir and successor.
2. Roderick, who succeeded his brother William, who was afterwards known as the famous Rory Mor, and who was knighted by James VI.
3. Alexander of Minginish, of whom the families of Ferinlea, Oze, and several other minor branches were descended. The old Macleods of Minginish having become



extinct on the death of John Og, *alias* "Ian Dubh" without issue in 1559, the lands of Minginish were, it would appear, given to this Alexander, third son of the Chief, a man of considerable consequence in his day.

4. Margaret, who married as his second wife Donald Gorm Macdonald of Sleat, without issue.

5. A daughter, who married Torquil Dubh Macleod, son of Roderick Macleod, X. of Lewis, by his third marriage to a daughter of Maclean of Duart, and whom his father declared to be his legal heir to the exclusion of Torquil Cononach, his son by his first wife, Janet Mackenzie of Kintail. Torquil's widow married, secondly, Ranald Macdonald, first of Benbecula, whose descendants, on the failure in 1725 of the direct line in the person of Ranald, XIII. Chief of Clanranald, succeeded as heads of that family.

Tormod Macleod married, secondly, a daughter of the Earl of Argyll, by whom he had issue—

6. Florence, who married Lachlan Maclean, IV. of Coll. He died in March, 1585,\* when James VI. granted to Colin, Earl of Argyll, the nonentry and other dues of all the property that belonged to him.† He was succeeded by his eldest son,

## XII. WILLIAM MACLEOD,

Who was served heir to his father, Tormod, on the 31st of July, 1585, and in November of the same year, was

\* News did not travel fast in those days, and we find that in the month of April, *after his death*, Tormod, with three others of the Island Chiefs, is charged to appear before the Privy Council to answer touching the good rule of the Isles and Highlands generally under pain of rebellion. The following extract explains itself:—Holyrood House, 23rd April, 1585. —“Order to charge Lauchlane McClayne of Dowart, Donald Gormsoun of Slait, Rory McCloyd of the Lewis, and Tormet McCloyd of Harrych, ‘personalie gif thai can be apprehendit,’ or otherwise by open proclamation at the market crosses of Invernes, Dunbartane, Inveraray, and other places, to appear before the Council upon the fifteenth day after the charge, to answer ‘tuicheing the gude reull and quieting of the Ilis and Hielandis,’ under the pain of rebellion.”—*Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, Vol. III. p. 739.

† *Register of the Privy Seal*, Vol. I., p. 120.

on a precept from Chancery infest in all the ancient estates of the family. In September he was requested by James VI. to go to the assistance of Lachlan Maclean of Duart, whose territories had been invaded by Angus Macdonald of Islay. The Macleans, on this occasion, were also assisted by the Macneills of Barra, the Mackinnons of Skye, and the MacQuarries; while the Macdonalds were supported by the Macleods of Lewis, the Macdonalds of Clanranald, the Clan Ian of Ardnamurchan, the Macneills of Gigha, the Macallisters of Iona, and Macfies of Colonsay.

The King at last interfered—using the Chiefs of the Clan Campbell, who had charge of the seventh Earl during his minority, as intermediatories—with the result that Angus Macdonald of Islay agreed to liberate Maclean, who had become his prisoner, on being promised a remission for his own crimes, and on eight hostages of high rank being placed in his hands by Maclean for the performance of conditions which the Chief of Duart had been obliged to sign to secure his release. The hostages were given, and among them we find Alexander Macleod of Minginish, youngest brother of William Macleod of Dunvegan, and of his more distinguished successor, Rorie Mor. These hostages were afterwards ordered to be given up to the young Earl of Argyll or his guardians, for conveyance to the King, to be kept where His Majesty should appoint, until a final settlement was arranged of all the matters in dispute between the Macdonalds of Islay and the Macleans of Duart.\* These Chiefs and their followers and principal supporters were charged to keep the peace and abstain from

\* Holyrood House, 16th April, 1587.—“His Majesty, ‘upoun gude and necessar considerationis moving him for eschewing of extremiteis and inconvenientis and reduceing of his haill subjectis to his obedience,’ had remitted the great crimes of Angus McConeill of Dunnyveg and Glennis and his accomplices, ‘and causit satisfie all thingis that mycht stay thair intendit rigour aganis Lauchlane McClayne of Dowart, then detainit in maist strait captivitiie,’ especially by ‘delivering in the handis and pouer of the said Angus, for the libertie and releiff of the said Lauchlane, Hector McClayne his sone and appeirand air, Alexander McCloyd, brother to Williame McCloyd of Dunnyvegane, Lauchlane McKynnoun and Neill McKynnoun, sones to Lauchlane McKynnoun of Strathoradell, Johnne and Murdo, sones



all gatherings and conventions, so as not to hinder or disturb the King in his efforts to bring about a settlement of the disputes between them.

On the 30th of November, 1586, we find Macleod of Harris, Donald Gorm of Sleat, Colin Mackenzie of Kintail, Torquil Macleod of Coigeach, Robert Munro of Fowlis, John Mackinnon of Lochslappan, Rory MacAllan of Gairloch, Macleod of Raasay, Roderick Macleod of Lewis, and about a dozen less known leaders, with "certane utheris cuntreymen adgacent and duelling in they pairties," ordained rebels by the Privy Council for failing to answer to a complaint made against them by the united burghs of the realm for obstructing the fisheries in the northern parts, and making extortionate exactions from the fishers.\*

The Earl of Huntly, then His Majesty's lieutenant in the North, was addressed by the King in a letter written with his own hand, dated Edinburgh, 20th of April, 1587, in which His Majesty says—"We have no doubt but the cruelties and disorders in the Isles these years bygone have greatly moved you, whereanent we intend, God willing, to take some special pains ourself, as well there as in the Borders, where we have been lately occupied." After reminding Huntly that he had communicated with him in the preceding October on the same subject, the King proceeded—"Always fearing that the Islesmen within the bounds of your Lieutenancy shall press to make some rising and gathering, before conveniently we may put order to the matters standing in controversy in the West Isles, we desire you effectuously that with all goodly diligence you

to Rory McKneill of Barray, Allane McClayne, son to Ewin McClayne of Ardgowir, and Donald McClayne, sone to Hector McClayne, constable of Carnyburgh." But of this date His Majesty issued a charge to the said Angus McConeill and others "that thay deliver the saidis aucht personis, now being in their handis and pouer, to Archibald, Erll of Ergyll, Lord Campbell and Lorne, or to any of his speciall friendis and tutouris that sall cum to ressave thame at \_\_\_\_\_, upoun the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_, saulflie and surelie convoyed to his Majesty, and kepit quhair he sall appoint quhill the finale ordouring and setting of the mataris in contravorsie betuix him and his saidis nychtbouris."—*Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. IV., p. 159-61.

\* *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. IV., p. 121-3.

send to Donald Gorm's son, Macleod of the Lewis, Macleod of the Harris, the Clan-Ranald, and others, being of power in these parts, willing and commanding them to contain themselves in quietness, and that they forbear to make any convention or gatherings, to the hinder and disturbance of our good deliberation, for we have written effectuously to Angus Macdonald, and have spoken with Maclean, being here, for the same effect. And so, not doubting but you will do what in you lies, that all things remain quiet and in good order within the bounds of your charge, as you will do us special acceptable service, commit you in the protection of Almighty God."\*

Shortly after this an Act was passed by which all landlords and Chiefs of Clans were bound to find securities for large amounts, proportionate to their wealth and the number of their followers, for the good behaviour of their vassals. If, after having found the stipulated sureties, any of these Chiefs failed in making immediate reparation for all injuries inflicted by any of their subordinates, for whom they were made to answer, the aggrieved persons might proceed at law against the securities for the amount of the damage. The Superior in that case had not only to reimburse his cautioner, but had, in addition, to pay a large fine to the Crown. At the same time, many other excellent provisions were made by this Act, usually known as the "General Band," for the more regular and easy administration of justice in the Western Isles.

In 1588 William Macleod entered into a bond of manrent with Lachlan Mackintosh of Mackintosh, whose daughter he had married. It is in the following terms:—

"Be it kened to all, me, William Macleod of Dunvegan, to become bound and obliged. Like as by the tenor hereof, I bind and oblige me, my heirs, leally and truly, by the faith and truth in my body, to take, efauld, and true part, assist, maintain, and defend, and concur with Lachlan Mackintosh of Dunachton, Captain and Chief of the Clan Chattan, and his heirs, in all and sundrie their actions, causes, quarrels, debates, and invasion of any person or

\* *Invernessiana*, by Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P., pp. 245-6.

persons whatever, indirectly used or intended contrary to the said Lachlan and his heirs in all time coming, from the day and date hereof, so that I, the said William Macleod, and my heirs, shall be sufficiently and duly premonished and advertised by the said Lachlan Mackintosh and his foresaids, to the effect foresaid, and shall give faithful and true counsel to him and his heirs, by and attour concurrence, and take efauld part with him and his heirs (as said is) in all their just causes and actions as said is. And sicklike I shall not hide, obscure, nor conceal, by any colour or engine, directly or indirectly, any skaith, displeasure, nor harm, meant or concert, in contrar the said Lachlan Mackintosh and his foresaids by any whatsoever person or persons, the same coming to the knowledge and ears of me, the said William Macleod and my heirs, but immediately after trial thereof in all our best manner, with all expedition and haste, shall advertize, report, and make foreseen the said Lachlan Mackintosh and his heirs thereof. As also to concur, assist, maintain, defend, and take faithful part with them against all mortals (the King's Majesty excepted allenarly). And this my bond to stand firm and stable in all time coming after the day and date hereof. In witness of the whilk, I have subscribed these presents with my hand, in manner under written, at Culloden, the 15th day of January, 1588, before witness.

(Signed) "WILLIAM M'LEOYD offe Dunvegane."

Under date of 6th March, 1589, *Donald* Macleod of Harris is named in the Records of the Scottish Privy Council as one of the Commissioners in the Isles for executing the Acts against the Jesuits and Seminary Priests. The name in this entry must be an error—Donald instead of William—for there was no *Donald* Macleod of Harris in 1589.

William Macleod married Janet, daughter of Lachlan Mackintosh, XVI. of Mackintosh, by his wife Agnes, daughter of Kenneth Mackenzie, X. of Kintail. Although no trace can be found of any issue of this marriage it would seem that William left a son who died a few years after his father's death, a minor. Rory Môr, who afterwards succeeded to the Chiefship and estates, is described for several years after his brother William's death, down at least to 1593, as "Tutor" of Macleod. He certainly

would not have been so designated had the previous Chief left no male issue. Although not of equal importance it is also to be noted that Sir Roderick was not served heir until September, 1595, six years after the death of his brother.

William died in October, 1590, when he was succeeded as Tutor and ultimately as Chief by his brother, the famous

### SIR RODERICK MACLEOD,

Known as "Ruaridh Mor," so called, "not so much from his size, or stature of his body—which was not remarkably large—as from the strength of his parts," and who was perhaps the most distinguished Highland Chief of his time. For the greater part of Roderick's reign he was at feud and fought several engagements with the Macdonalds of Sleat. He was not infeft in the whole of the family estates until September, 1596, on a precept from Chancery, though his brother, William, died, as already stated, in 1590.

Under date of 16th December, 1592, we find Sir Roderick, who is described as "Rory MakCloyd, *tutor* of Harrich," charged with a number of other Chiefs to find caution in 10,000 merks for good rule in his district under the Act of July, 1587.\* On the 16th of March, 1592-93, the King, with advice of his Council, ordains letters to be issued to relax a number of persons from the horn for any cause bygone, to receive them to the King's peace, "and gif thame the wand thair of." Among the leaders so relieved we find Roderick "McCloyd, tutor of Harrich."†

In 1594, Roderick accompanied Donald Gorm Mor Macdonald of Sleat to the North of Ireland to assist Red Hugh O'Donnell, at that time engaged in active rebellion against the Government of Queen Elizabeth. The two Skye Chiefs had each 500 of their clansmen under their command on this occasion. They crossed

\* *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. III., pp. 802-3.

† *Ibid.*, Vol. V., pp. 53-4.

the Channel in their own galleys, and on their arrival at Loch-Foyle, they were there met by O'Donnell, and entertained by him for three days and three nights. Macleod then led his men forward in person to the assistance of his friend, the Chief of the Irish branch of the Siol Cuinn, but Donald Gorm returned home, leaving his clansmen under the command of his brother.

Roderick Macleod got into trouble with the Scottish Court in connection with this raid to Ireland against the English Government, and other acts; for next year he is charged by the Privy Council, on the application of Elizabeth's ambassador in Scotland, to desist from rendering any aid to the Irish under Red Hugh; and Gregory informs us that about 1596 he and Donald Macdonell of Glengarry, usually styled Donald "MacAngus," made their submission and were again received into favour.

On the 21st of March, 1596, Roderick Macleod "of Dunveggane"—no longer be it remarked described as "tutor," but as of Dunvegan—appears before the Council and becomes bound in 10,000 merks "be the faith and treuth of his body" to acknowledge his Highness, the King, as his only Sovereign Lord, to make his men obey the King's lieutenants in "repressing of the insolence" of the inhabitants of the Highlands and Isles; also "that Donald McCleud, son of Johnne McCleud of Rosok" (? Raasay), appointed to remain in Edinburgh as pledge for the obedience of Rory, shall remain there till the return and entry of the said Rory upon the 30th of November next. The obligation was subscribed for Roderick by the Clerk of the Council.\* It would appear, however, that the obligation was not implemented, for we find under date, Holyrood House, 22nd November, 1599, that Alexander, Master of Elphinstone, treasurer, represented that, although Rory became bound as above, on 21st March, 1596, "yet, not only had the said Donald departed before 1st November, but the said Rory had not appeared upon the said day or since. He has, therefore, plainly con-

\* *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. V., pp. 677-8.



travened his said bond, and thereby incurred the said pain. The pursuer appearing personally, but Rory not appearing, the Lords decerned as prayed, and ordained letters to issue against Rory.”\*

The subject is brought up on the 15th May, 1600, at the instance of Roderick himself, but he again fails to appear, and decree goes against him the second time. Alexander, Master of Elphinstone, treasurer, and Mr. Thomas Hamilton of Drumcairne, King’s Advocate, appear and give in a copy of the letters raised by Rory Macleod of Dunvegan, charging them to produce before the King and Council this day the letters raised by the said treasurer whereby the said Rory was charged to pay to the said treasurer the sum of 10,000 merks, in which Rory had been adjudged by a decree of contravention pronounced against him, in order to the suspension of the same simpliciter for certain reasons specified in the said letters. And now, the said Rory failing to appear, the treasurer and advocate protest that they shall not be held to answer farther till they be warned of new, and that the said letters against Rory shall be put to farther execution in all points. The Lords admitted the protest and ordained accordingly.†

In the year 1596 Macleod received, on the 18th of September, a charge from the King, commanding him to be at Islay, with all his followers on the 20th of the same month—only two days after receipt of the Royal commands—under pain of treason and forfeiture. This was of course impossible, and “Rodericus Macloid of the Herrie,” as he styles himself, sent a characteristic reply to James VI. Macleod addressed his letter:—

“To his Hynes Maiestie Soverane Lord, King and Maister,” from Marvak, Harris, on the 22nd of September, 1596, and referring to the King’s charge that he should be at Islay on the 20th, he says (the orthography being modernised)—“I take God and your grace to witness if it was possible for me to have done the same; although my force had been together, and wind and weather had served

\* *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. VI., p. 50.

† *Ibid.*, Vol. VI., pp. 109-10.

me at every airt of the broken seas in the countries, and my men lie far asunder ; and although the charge had been given to me the first of August, it had been little enough to have been at the day appointed, with my force. Sir, I beseech your Grace think not this to be an excuse. I will lay all this aside ; and although I should be borne in a horse litter, I shall do my exact diligence to be at my Lord Crowner, where your Grace has commanded me, in all possible haste, as I shall answer to God and your Grace both, and whom your Grace or my Lord Crowner will command me in your Highness's name to pass on, either by sword or fire, I shall do the same, or any your Grace will command me to fight hand in hand in your Grace's sight, I shall prove my pith on him. Beseeching your Grace favourably to let not use me with letters of treason or traitory, I being in mind to serve your Grace under God as my native King and Master to the uttermost of my life. This voyage being ended, I will rejoice to be at your Grace, and to have your Grace's presence, and to serve and know your Grace as my only sovereign, king, lord, and master : looking for your Grace's answer, if need be, again with this bearer, to have your Grace's presents, and God bless your Grace."

In 1597, an Act of Parliament was passed, in terms of which it was made imperative on all claiming rights to any lands in the Isles to produce their title deeds before the Lords of Exchequer, upon the 15th of May, 1598, because "they neglected to pay their yearly rents" and "to perform the services due from their lands to the Crown," and in consequence of their having "made the Highlands and Isles, naturally so valuable from the fertility of the soil, and the richness of the fisheries, altogether unprofitable either to themselves or to their fellow-countrymen." They were further enjoined to find security for the regular payment of their rents to the Crown, and for the peaceable and orderly behaviour of themselves, and of those for whom, by law, they were bound to answer, particularly in regard to those desirous of trading in the Isles. Disobedience to any of the injunctions contained in the Act was to infer absolute forfeiture of all titles, real or pretended, which any of the rescuants



might possess or claim to any lands in the Highlands and Isles. Taking into consideration the loss of title deeds, which, in the unsettled state of the country, must have been of very common occurrence—and the difficulty which many even of the most powerful chiefs could not fail to experience in finding the requisite bail for their own peaceable and orderly behaviour, and that of their vassals and tenants—it is evident, according to Gregory, that this Act was prepared with a view to place at the disposal of the Crown, in a summary manner, many large tracts of land; affording thus an opportunity to the King to commence his favourite plans for the improvement of the Highlands and Isles.

No record exists of the names of those who produced their titles on this occasion, but it is known that the lands of Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg, and those of Macleod of Lewis, were declared to be at the disposal of the Crown, though it is undoubted that at that time Macleod of Dunvegan and Harris held unexceptional titles to the first three named estates. A company of Lowland adventurers, the principal of whom were the Duke of Lennox; Patrick, Commendator of Lindores; William, Commendator of Pittenweem; Sir James Anstruther, younger of that Ilk; Sir James Sandilands of Slamanno; James Leirmonth of Balcolmly; James Spens of Wormestoun; John Forret of Fingask; David Home, younger of Wedderburn; and Captain William Murray, received a grant of all the lands belonging to Roderick Macleod of Dunvegan and Harris, including those of Glenelg; but they were never able even to occupy them.

Roderick having for some unknown reason failed to present his titles in terms of the Act of Parliament, the forfeiture of his lands duly followed. At the same time, in consequence of his having assisted Roderick Macleod of Lewis against his son Torquil Conanach and the Mackenzies,\* he was on bad terms with Sir Roderick

\* Full particulars of these feuds will be given under the Macleods of Lewis and Assynt.

Mackenzie of Coigeach, Tutor of Kintail, progenitor of the Mackenzies of Cromarty, then a member of the Scottish Privy Council, and possessing great power and influence. Macleod, it would appear, presented himself in person before the Council about this time, and Sir Roderick Mackenzie, knowing his haughty and proud temper, purposely insulted him by certain offensive remarks addressed to him in presence of the other members, when Macleod immediately struck the Tutor of Kintail and knocked him down in the Privy Council Chamber, an offence which, committed against any member, was at the time punishable by death. Roderick, however, managed to effect his escape, and soon after found his way safely to the Isles.

On the 21st of June, 1599, Roderick Macleod complained that Duncane McGrymmen, and Donald McGrymmen, his brother, haunting in Glenurchy and Tullibardine, had lately, "be some sinister moyane and wrangous information," procured a commission from his Majesty for arresting and intromitting with the goods of the complainer or any others of his clan or men, under colour whereof they had committed divers reifs and robberies upon sundry of his kin and friends, and other good subjects repairing to open markets and fairs. Thus, in October last, they violently "reft from Duncane McEan McGillichallum and Donald McHucheon VcConeil VcFerquhair 24 fat kye in Glammis market, and £120 from Johnne McFinla Doway; and they intend to commit farther reiffs upon the complainer and his men." The pursuers appeared by Johnne Bogy, their procurator, but neither Duncan or Donald MacGrymmen having appeared, the Lords declared the said letters or commission to have been wrongously procured, and therefore null.\*

In 1601 an inveterate quarrel broke out between Sir Roderick and Donald Gorm Mor Macdonald of Sleat, who had previously married Margaret Macleod, Sir Roderick's eldest sister, and who now, through jealousy or other

\* *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. VI., pp. 5-6.

cause, ill-treated her, repudiated her, and sent her away. Sir Roderick, having learned this, sent Macdonald a polite message asking him to take the lady back, or the consequences, it was hinted, might be unpleasant. Instead of acceding to this request, Donald Gorm, on the contrary, set about procuring a legal divorce from Macleod's sister, in which he succeeded; when, without any delay, he married Mary, daughter of Colin Càrn Mackenzie, XI. of Kintail, and the sister of Macleod's greatest enemy, Sir Roderick Mackenzie, Tutor of Kintail. This added insult to injury, and Roderick at once determined to be revenged for the injustice done to his sister, and for the insult offered to himself, his family, and clan, in her person, by Donald Gorm. He at once assembled his vassals and carried fire and sword into Macdonald's lands of Troternish, venting his resentment upon every living thing that he there came across. The Macdonalds, in revenge, invaded Harris, which they laid waste, killing many of the inhabitants and carrying off their cattle. This determined the Macleods to make a foray upon Macdonald's estate of North Uist, and, accordingly, they sailed from Skye, their Chief at their head, towards that Island. On their arrival there, Rory Mor sent his kinsman, Donald Glas Macleod of Drynoch with forty men to lay waste the land, and to bring off from the church of Kiltrynad the cattle and effects of the country people, which, on the alarm being given had been placed there by them for safety. In the execution of these orders, Donald Glas was encountered by a celebrated warrior of the Clandonald, nearly related to their Chief, Donald MacIain Mhic Sheumais, of the family of Kingsburgh, who had only twelve men in his party. The Macdonalds behaved with so much gallantry that they routed their opponents and rescued the cattle, Donald Glas and many of his men being killed.

Sir Roderick Macleod, seeing the ill success of this detachment, and suspecting that a larger force was at hand, returned home meditating future vengeance. These incursions were carried on with so much inveteracy that

both clans were brought to the brink of ruin; and many of the natives of the district thus devastated were forced to sustain themselves by killing and eating their horses, dogs, and cats.

At length, in 1601, while Macleod was absent seeking assistance from the Earl of Argyll, the Macdonalds invaded his lands in Skye, in considerable numbers, determined to force on a battle. The Macleods, under Alexander of Minginish, brother of their Chief, took post on the shoulder of the Coolin Hills. After a fierce and obstinate combat, in which both parties fought with great bravery, the Macleods were overthrown. Their leader, with thirty of their choicest warriors, fell into the hands of the victors; and two of the Chief's immediate relations and many others were slain.

The Privy Council now interfered to prevent further mischief. The Marquis of Huntly and the Earl of Argyll, and all others, were prohibited from giving assistance to either of the contending parties; while the Chiefs themselves were ordered to disband their forces and to quit the island in the meantime. Macleod was enjoined to give himself up to the Earl of Argyll, and Macdonald to surrender to Huntly, and both were strictly charged, under the penalty of treason, to remain with these noblemen till the controversy between them should be settled by the King and Council. A reconciliation was at length effected between them by the mediation of Angus Macdonald of Isla, Maclean of Coll, and other friends; after which the prisoners taken at "the battle of Benquhillin" were released; and ever after this event these rival clans refrained from open hostility, and submitted all their disputes to the decision of the law.\*

On the 16th of June, in the same year, there is an entry dated Holyrood House, from which we find that a commission of justiciary and lieutenancy within the North West Isles had been granted to George, Marquis of Huntly, but that nobleman, "appearing before the

\* *Highlands and Isles*, pp. 295-297.

King and Council, promises not to use the said commission against Rory McLeud of Dunvegane, *alias* McCleud of Hereis, or any of his friends, till 10th August next, and farther till he receive special direction from his Majesty." On the same day, an order was issued to charge the said Macleod to appear before the King and Council at Falkland or where else they shall happen to be, upon 10th August next, to render his obedience to his Majesty, and find surety for his future behaviour, and for payment of the King's rents due by him for his lands.\*

The following extracts from the public records will throw additional light upon the proceedings of this year. On account of the "variance" lately fallen out between Donald Gorm of Sleat and Roderick Macleod of Dunvegane, there is an order dated the 29th of June, 1601, to charge both parties to subscribe and deliver to one another, within six hours after the charge, under pain of rebellion, such form of assurance as shall be presented to them, to endure till 1st July, 1602.†

There is an entry dated Falkland, 11th of August, 1601, where it is declared that Roderick "having failed to appear for rendering his obedience to his Majesty and for finding surety to pay the rents due to his Highness furth of his lands, conform to the charge given to him, is to be denounced rebel."‡

Alexander Cameron, in his *Traditions of the Isle of Skye*, gives the local version of the raid to Uist. He has it that it was the Macleods, after having succeeded in raising the *creach* of the island, who had gathered their booty into the Church or Monastery of the Trinity at Carinish, and that they were feasting themselves there on some of the plunder, "when Donald MacIain Mhic Sheumais arrived with his twelve warriors, who fought with their bows, and arrows, and swords with such effect, that only two of the Macleods escaped to convey the

\* *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. VI., p. 256.

† *Ibid.*, Vol. VI., p. 263.

‡ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI., p. 278.



news of their discomfiture to their Chief, who was with his galleys at Port-na-long." Donald MacIain Mhic Sheumais received a severe arrow wound in the action, from which he, however, soon recovered, and continued to distinguish himself as before. The leader of the Macleods was slain by a man Macdougall, named Donald *Mor Mac Neill Mhic Iain*, at the sands named from that circumstance *Oitir Mhic Dhomhnuil Ghlais*. The slain of the party were buried at the scene of the action, known as *Feithe-na-fola*, or the morass of blood, and their skulls were placed in the windows of the Church of the Trinity, where they were to be seen until a recent date.

Rory Mor, seeing the bad success of his clansmen, and suspecting that there were more fighting men in the island, retired home, intending to return shortly with a greater force to avenge his loss. Mr. Cameron continues—"In about three weeks Donald MacIain Mhic Sheumais was sufficiently recovered to proceed to Skye to report the affair at Cairinish personally to his Chief, Donald Gorm Mor. He accordingly set sail in his galley with a befitting retinue, but when about half-way across the Minch, which separates North Uist and the other islands of the Outer Hebrides from Skye, a violent snowstorm with a contrary wind arose, so that Donald was driven back, and had no resource but to make for Rodil, in Harris, one of the seats of his enemy, Rory Mor. It was dark when Donald and his company landed, and their arrival was known to no one at Rodil, with the exception of Macleod's page, MacCrimmon, a native of Skye, to whom Donald stood in the relation of *goistidh*, or godfather. Rory Mor, as usual, had a number of the gentlemen of his clan waiting on and feasting with him at Rodil House. The severity of the storm made the Chief uneasy. He paced to and fro in his dining-hall, and, removing the panel from one of the apertures that served as windows, he peered into the darkness without, and shuddered as the blast blew in through the window a shower of snow. Hastily closing the aperture, he exclaimed, 'I could not refuse shelter to



my greatest enemy, even Donald MacIain Mhic Sheumais, on such a night.' MacCrimmon immediately answers, 'I take you at your word, Donald MacIain Mhic Sheumais is here.' Rory Mor was rather taken aback by the unexpected announcement, but, yielding to no man in hospitality, he at once requested that Donald and his company be shown in. The Macdonalds entered, and, after a formal salutation, were requested to sit down to dinner with their host and his kinsmen. The long table groaned under its burden of beef, venison, and salmon. The Macleods were seated on one side, and the Macdonalds ranged themselves on the other side of the table, the dunevassals of either clan being seated above and the vassals below the salt. Abundance of good old wine was quaffed, and as it took effect, the Macleods, who did not appear to relish the presence of the strangers, cast furtive glances across the table. At length the murmured and listless conversation was interrupted by the words, 'Remember, this day three weeks was fought the battle of Cairinish,' spoken by one of the Macleods, in a loud and emphatic tone. The Chief gave a frowning look to the speaker, but that did not deter him from repeating the unfortunate words, which acted as a live spark on the combustible nature of the Macleods, and in an instant they displayed a score of daggers. A bloody scene would have inevitably followed had not the Chief at once interfered, and with a voice of authority commanded his hasty clansmen to sheath their weapons, and not to disgrace his hospitality and their own gallantry by such an ill-timed act. They at once obeyed, and he apologised to Donald for his clansmen's rashness, and good humouredly inquired of him why he had unsheathed his sword. Donald replied that he did not mean to act on the offensive, but that if any of his men had been struck he intended to have secured first the highest bird in the air, *an t-eun as airde tha 'san ealtuinn*. When the hour for retiring came, the Macdonalds were shown to an outer house to sleep, but Donald, as being of higher rank, was about being shown

to a bedroom in the house, when he declined to go, preferring to accompany his men, which he did. They retired to rest, but had scarcely slept when MacCrimmon came to the door and called for Donald MacIain Mhic Sheumais, saying that there was now fair wind for Skye. The Macdonalds at once got up, and, finding that the gale had subsided and that the wind was favourable, they embarked in their galley for Skye. They had scarcely reached the entrance of the Bay of Rodil when, on looking back, they observed the dormitory they had left in flames, some of the Macleods having treacherously set it on fire, suspecting that the Macdonalds were within. The piper of the Macdonalds struck up the piobaireachd, *Tha an dubhthuil air Macleod*, i.e., 'the Macleods are disgraced,' which galled the Macleods on perceiving that they were outwitted. The Macdonalds were soon borne by the breeze to their destination, Duntulm, in Troternish."

In the absence of Rory Mor in Argyle, seeking the aid and advice of the Earl of Argyll against the Macdonalds, Donald Gorm Mor assembled his men, and made an invasion into Macleod's lands, determined to force on a battle. Alexander Macleod of Minginish, the brother of Rory Mor, collected all the fighting men of the Siol Tormoid, and some of the Siol Torquil from the Lewis, and encamped by Ben-a-Chuilinn. Next day they and the Macdonalds engaged in battle, which continued all the day, "both contending for the victory with incredible obstinacy." The leader of the Macleods (who was cased in armour), together with Neil MacAllister Roy, and thirty of the leading men of the Macleods of Dunvegan were wounded and taken prisoners, and the Macdonalds gained the day. John MacTormoid and Tormod MacTormoid, two near kinsmen of Rory Mor, and several other Macleods, were slain. Donald MacIain Mhic Sheumais fought with great bravery in the action under Donald Gorm Mor. The ravine where the battle was fought is hence named *Coire na creich*, or the ravine of the spoil.\*

\* *The Conflicts of the Clans* by a contemporary writer.

The Privy Council now interfered, and requested the Chiefs to disband their forces and quit Skye. We find an entry dated Stirling, 22nd of August, 1601, in which it is recorded that Rory Macleod of Dunvegan and his kin and friends, on the one side, and Donald Macdonald Gorm of Sleat and his dependers, on the other, "continewing in thair wicked and evill dispositioun to prosecute thair particular revengeis," intended to "mass togidder grit nowmeris and forceis of thair kin and freindschip," and pursue each other "with fyre and sword and other hostilitie be say and land." Then follows an order to charge both parties to dissolve their forces and to observe the King's peace. Macleod is commanded to repair to Archibald, Earl of Argyll, and Macdonald to George, Marquis of Huntly, within six days after being charged, and to remain in the company of the said noblemen till the King and Council take order anent the present "trouble," under pain of treason. Both parties are required to release peacefully all prisoners on either side within forty-eight hours after being charged under the said pain of treason. They are also commanded to execute mutual assurances till 1st August, 1602, within six hours after the charge, under pain of rebellion.\* Through the mediation of Angus Macdonald of Kintyre, the Laird of Coll, and other friends, a reconciliation was ultimately effected between them, whereupon Donald Gorm Macdonald delivered up to Rory Mor the prisoners taken at Ben-a-Chuilinn, including his brother, Alexander of Minginish. After this they refrained from open hostility, though they had several actions at law against each other.

On this reconciliation being effected, Donald Gorm was invited by Rory Mor to a banquet in Dunvegan Castle. When Donald appeared in sight of the Dun he was met by Macleod's famous piper, Donald Mor MacCrimmon, who welcomed the Chief of the Macdonalds by playing "The Macdonald's Salute," which *piobaireachd* he composed for the occasion. It was in connection with the same

\* *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. VI., p. 282.

banquet that he composed and at it that he played for the first time, *Failte nan Leodach*, or Macleod's Salute.

There is a charge dated Edinburgh, 18th of July, 1605, to "Rory Macleod of Dunvegan and all others, havers, keepers, and detainers of the castle, tower, and fortalice of Dunvegan, and of all others—his castles, towers, and fortalices—to render and deliver the same to the heralds or officers executors of the said letters, and such other as shall be appointed for receiving and keeping thereof, to be kept by them in His Majesty's name and to his Highness's behoof as pledges of their obedience," and to remove themselves and their servants furth thereof within twenty-four hours, under pain of treason.\*

From this it would appear that at this time Macleod was in great difficulty with the Court. By the assistance of the Earl of Argyll, however,—with whom he shortly afterwards entered into a contract, dated 7th of July, 1606, to resign his Barony of Glenelg to the King, in favour of his Lordship, who, in turn, became bound to re-grant the same to Macleod and his heirs-male, to be held of Argyll and his heirs, by service of ward, marriage, and relief,—he managed to make terms with the King, and all his enemies, especially with Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Coigeach, Tutor of Kintail, and Macdonald of Sleat, with the latter of whom he ultimately entered into a bond of friendship, as he also did with Macdonald of Clanranald and Mackinnon of Strath.

At Edinburgh on the 23rd of June, 1607, the Privy Council resolves that, in order to the "weill and quietnes" of the North Isles, the Lords ordain "charge to be given to Archibald, Earl of Argyle, to present Rory Macleod of Harris before them on next, conform to the act of caution in £10,000 by Campbell of Lundy, to that effect."† At the same place, on the 13th of August, in the same year, it is recorded that the Castle of Stornoway and other fortalices in the Lewis which belong to the

\* *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. VII., p. 87.

† *Ibid.*, Vol. VII., p. 397.

gentlemen portioners thereof, have been surprised by Roderick Macleod of Dunvegan, who will not deliver the same to their said owners, and there is an order charging him to surrender the said houses to the Commissioners nominated by the said portioners for receiving thereof, within six hours after the charge, under pain of rebellion.\*

At this period the Macleods of Harris, Macneills of Barra, and Macdonalds of Clanranald, assisted Neil Macleod of Lewis against the Fife Adventurers, whose appearance in that island, their proceedings there, and their final discomfiture, will be described under THE MACLEODS OF LEWIS.

Great preparations were now made for an expedition against the Island Chiefs. In 1608 proclamations were issued summoning the militia of the shires of Dumbarton, Argyle, Tarbert, Ayr, Renfrew, and Galloway, to join the Royal forces, and to rendezvous at Islay on the first of June, where the forces then engaged in Ireland assisting those of Queen Elizabeth were to meet them. Another proclamation was issued at the same time forbidding any of the mainland Chiefs, under the severest penalties, to render assistance or give shelter to any of the Islesmen. Extraordinary precautions were taken, and everything possible seems to have been done by the Privy Council to secure the success and facilitate the execution of their enterprise against the Islanders. Andrew Stewart, Lord Ochiltree, with Sir James Hay, was sent to the Isles, with powers to confer and come to terms with the Chiefs. He met the principal men at Maclean's Castle of Aros, in Mull. Roderick Macleod and his brother Alexander were present on this occasion, and with the others agreed to the following conditions:—First, security for His Majesty's rents; secondly, obedience to the laws by the Chiefs and all their followers; thirdly, delivery by them of all houses of defence, strongholds, and *crannags*, to be placed at the King's disposal; fourthly,

\* *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. VII., p. 430.



renunciation of all jurisdictions which they claimed, heritably or otherwise, and submission to the jurisdiction of Sheriffs, Bailies, Justices, or other officers appointed by the Crown ; fifthly, that they should be satisfied with such lands and possessions, and under such conditions as the King might appoint ; sixthly, that their whole birlings, lymphads, and galleys should be destroyed, save those required for carrying to the mainland His Majesty's rents paid in kind, and other necessary purposes ; seventhly, that they, and such of their kinsmen as could afford it, should put their children to school, under the directions of the Privy Council ; and lastly, that they should abstain from using guns, bows, and two-handed swords, and should confine themselves to single-handed swords and targes.

The Chiefs, however, soon found out that Ochiltree was not to be trusted. Angus Macdonald of Isla, having agreed to everything required of him, was permitted to go home, but finding the others not quite so pliant to do Ochiltree's bidding in all things, he invited them on board the King's ship *Moon*, on the pretence of hearing a sermon preached by his chief counsellor, Bishop Knox of the Isles, after which they were to dine together. Rory Mor, suspecting some sinister design, refused to go on board, and his suspicion proved only too well founded, for immediately after dinner Ochiltree informed his guests that they were all prisoners by the King's orders. He then weighed anchor, at once set sail with his interesting cargo to Ayr, and thence marched them to Edinburgh, where, by order of the Privy Council, they were confined in the Castles of Dumbarton, Blackness, and Stirling. The imprisonment of these haughty Chiefs induced many of their followers at once to submit to the King's representatives, and the arrangements which were soon afterwards made became the starting point for a gradual but permanent improvement in the Highlands and Western Isles.

In 1609 the famous Statutes of Icolmkill were agreed to between the island lords (who had meanwhile been set at liberty), and the Bishop of the Isles, and among the rest



we find on this occasion Rory Mor of Dunvegan. The statutes are summarised by Gregory as follows:—The first proceeded upon the narrative of the gross ignorance and barbarity of the Islanders, alleged to have arisen partly from the small number of their clergy, and partly from the contempt in which this small number of pastors was held. To remedy this state of things, it was agreed that proper obedience should be given to the clergy (whose number, much diminished by the Reformation, it was proposed to increase); that their stipends should be regularly paid; that ruinous churches should be re-built; that the Sabbaths should be solemnly kept; and that, in all respects, they should observe the discipline of the Reformed Kirk as established by Act of Parliament. By one of the clauses of this statute, marriages contracted for certain years were declared illegal; a proof that the ancient practice of hand-fasting still prevailed to a certain extent. The second statute ordained the establishment of inns at the most convenient places in the several Isles; and this not only for the convenience of travellers, but to relieve the tenants and labourers of the ground from the great burden and expense caused to them through the want of houses of public entertainment. The third was intended to diminish the number of idle persons, whether masterless vagabonds, or belonging to the households of Chiefs and landlords; for experience had shown that the expense of supporting these idlers fell chiefly upon the tenantry in addition to their usual rents. It was, therefore, enacted that no man should be allowed to reside within the Isles who had not a sufficient revenue of his own; or who, at least, did not follow some trade by which he might live. With regard to the great households hitherto kept by the Chiefs, a limit was put to the number of individuals of which each household was to consist in future, according to the rank and estate of the master; and it was further provided that each Chief should support his household from his own means, and not by a tax upon his tenantry. The fourth provided that all persons, not natives of the Isles, who

should be found sorning, or living at free quarters upon the poor inhabitants (an evil which seems to have reached a great height), should be tried and punished by the judge ordinary as thieves and oppressors. The fifth statute proceeded upon the narrative that one of the chief causes of the great poverty of the Isles, and of the cruelty and inhuman barbarity practised in their local feuds, was their inordinate love of strong wines and aquavite, which they purchased partly from dealers among themselves, partly from merchants belonging to the mainland. Power was, therefore, given to any person whatever to seize, without payment, any wine or aquavite imported for sale by a native merchant; and if an Islander should buy any of the prohibited articles from a mainland trader, he was to incur the penalty of forty pounds for the first offence, one hundred for the second, and for the third, the loss of his whole possessions and moveable goods. It was, however, declared to be lawful for an individual to brew as much aquavite as his own family might require; and the barons and wealthy gentlemen were permitted to purchase in the lowlands the wine and other liquors required for their private consumption. The sixth statute attributed the "ignorance and incivilltee" of the Islanders to the neglect of good education among the youth; and to remedy this fault it enacted that every gentleman or yeoman possessed of sixty cattle should send his eldest son, or, if he had no male children, his eldest daughter to school in the Lowlands, and maintain his child there till it learned to speak, read, and write English. The seventh statute forbade the use of any description of firearms, even for the destruction of game, under the penalties contained in an Act of Parliament passed in the (then) present reign, which had never yet received obedience from the Islanders "owing to their monstrous deadly feuds." The eighth statute was directed against bards and other idlers of that class. The gentry were forbidden to encourage them; and the bards themselves were threatened, first with the stocks, and then with banishment. The ninth statute contained some necessary

enactments for enforcing obedience to the preceding Acts.

Such were the Statutes of Icolmkill, for the better observance of which, and of the Laws of the Realm and Acts of Parliament in general, the Bishop took from the assembled Chiefs a very strict bond. This bond, moreover, contained a sort of confession of faith on the part of the subscribers, and an unconditional acknowledgment of His Majesty's supreme authority in all matters both spiritual and temporal, according to his "most loveable Act of Supremacy."

The first of these Statutes agreed to by the Island Chiefs is an instructive document and deserves to be given at length. It is in the following terms:—

"For remedy whereof [the ignorance, etc., of the people], they have all agreed in one voice, Like as it is presently concluded and enacted, That the ministers, as well planted as to be planted within the parishes of the said Isles, shall be reverently obeyed; their stipends dutifully paid them; the ruinous kirks with reasonable diligence repaired; the Sabbaths solemnly kept; adulteries, fornications, incest, and such other vile slanders severely punished; marriages contracted for certain years, *simpliciter* discharged, and the committers thereof repute and punished as fornicators—and that conform to the loveable acts of Parliament of this realm and discipline of the Reformed Kirk; the which the foresaids persons and every one of them within their own bounds faithfully promise to see put to due execution."

The Bond which the Bishop took from the nine Hebridean Lairds on this occasion, Roderick Macleod of Dunvegan's being the fifth signature to it, is an extraordinary confession. It is as follows:—

"We, and every one of us, principal gentlemen, indwellers within the West and North Isles of Scotland, under-subscribers, acknowledging, and now by experience finding, that the special cause of the great misery, barbarity, and poverty, unto the which for the present our barren country is subject, has proceeded of the unnatural deadly feuds which have been fostered among us in this last age: in respect that thereby not only the fear of God and all religion, but also the care of keeping any duty and giving

obedience unto our gracious sovereign the King's Majesty and his Highness's laws, for the most part was decayed: and now seeing it has pleased God in His mercy to remove these unhappy distractions, with the causes of them, all from among us; and understanding that the recovery of the peace of our conscience, our prosperity, weal, and quietness, consist in the acknowledging of our duty towards our God and His true worship, and of our humble obedience to our dread sovereign and his Highness's laws of this his Majesty's kingdom: and also being persuaded of mercy and forgiveness of all our bypast offences of his Majesty's accustomed clemency; bind and oblige ourselves by the faith and truth in our bodies, under the pain of perjury and defamation for ever,—and further under such other civil penalties as it shall please his Majesty and his honourable Council to subject us unto at our next compearance before their Lordships; that as we presently profess the true religion publicly taught, preached, and professed within this realm of Scotland, and embraced by his Majesty and his Estates of this realm as the only and undoubted truth of God; so by his Grace we shall continue in the profession of the same without hypocrisy to our lives' end; and shall dutifully serve his Majesty in the maintenance of that truth, liberty of the same, and of all the laws and privileges of any part of his Highness's dominions, with our bodies and goods, without excuse or wearying to our last breath: likeas also we and every one of us protest, in the sight of the ever-living God, that we acknowledge and reverence our sovereign lord his sacred Majesty allenarly supreme judge under the eternal God in all causes and above all persons, both spiritual and temporal, avowing our loyalty and obedience to his Highness only, conform to his Majesty's most loveable Act of Supremacy, which we embrace and subscribe unto with our hearts; and, further, under the same oath and pains, we faithfully promise dutiful obedience to the whole laws, Acts of Parliament, and constitutions of this his Highness's Kingdom of Scotland, and to observe and keep every point and ordinance of the same as they are observed by the rest of his Majesty's most loyal subjects of the realm; and to be answerable to his Majesty and to his Highness's Council as we shall be required upon our obedience thereto; and, further, as shall be more particularly enjoined unto us for our weal and reformation of this our poor country by his Majesty and Council having

consideration what it may be and we are able to perform ; and also, as more specially we have agreed unto, set down and established as necessary laws to be kept among ourselves in our particular Courts, holden by his Majesty's Commissioner, Andrew, Bishop of the Isles, and subscribed with all our hands in his presence. And, finally, we bind and oblige ourselves, under the oath and pains foresaid, that in case any of us and our friends, dependers, or servants, upon any evil or turbulent motion (as God forbid they do), disobey any of the foresaid ordinances, or be found remiss or negligent in observing of the special points of our obligation above written, and being convicted thereof by the Judge Ordinary of the country, spiritual or temporal ; that then, and in that case, we shall assuredly concur together, conjunctly and severally, as we shall be employed by his Highness or the said Judge Ordinary or Sheriff ; and shall concur with the said Sheriff or Judge whatsoever, having warrant of his Majesty, to pursue, take, apprehend, and present to justice the said disobedient person ; intromit with his lands, goods, and gear, and dispone thereupon as we shall have commission of his Majesty ; and hereto we and every one of us faithfully promise, bind, and oblige us by our great oaths, as we shall be saved and condemned upon the great day of the Great Judge of the world, to observe, keep, and fulfil the premises ; and for the more security, if need be, we are content, and consent that these presents be inserted and registered in his Highness's Books of Secret Council of this realm, and the same to have the strength of an Act and Decreet of the Lords thereof interponed hereto with executorials to be direct hereupon in form as effeirs ; And to that effect makes and constitutes [blank] our Procurators, conjunctly and severally, *in uberiori forma, promitten. derato* ; In witness whereof," etc.\*

This remarkable bond is dated the 23d of August, 1609. On the following day, the 24th of August in the same year, Roderick Macleod entered into a separate bond of friendship and mutual forgiveness with Donald Gorm Macdonald of Sleat, in the following terms :—

" At Icolmkill, the twenty-fourth day of August, the year of God, 1609 years : It is appointed, concorded, contracted, and finally agreed and ended betwixt the right honourable

\* *Registrum Secreti Concillii, Acta penes Marchiarum et Insularum ordinem*, Vol. from 1608 to 1623, recorded on the 27th of July, 1610.



persons [the] parties underwritten, to wit, Donald Gorm Macdonald of Sleat, on the one part, and Rory Macleod of Harris, on the other part, in manner, form, and effect, as after follows:—That is to say, forasmuch as the foresaid persons, [the] parties above-named, being certainly persuaded of their dread Sovereign His Majesty's clemency and mercy towards them, and willing of their reformation, and their living hereafter in peace, as His Highness's quiet, modest, and peaceable subjects, and that by His Majesty's and Lords of his Secret Council's will and directions committed to one reverend father, Andrew, Bishop of the Isles; and the said parties, considering the Godless and unhappy turns done by either of them, their friends, servants, tenants, dependants, and part-takers, to others, which from their hearts they and each one of them now repents: therefore the said Donald Gorm Macdonald and Rory Macleod, [the] parties above-rehearsed, taking the burden on them, each one of them for their own kin, friends, servants, tenants, dependants, and allies, to have remitted, freely discharged, and forgiven, like as, by the tenor hereof, they from their hearts freely remit, discharge, and forgive each one of them, the other and their foresaids, for all and whatsoever slaughters, murders, heirships, spulzies of goods, and raising of fire committed by either of them against the other, their friends, servants, tenants, and dependants, at any time preceding the date hereof; renouncing all actions or pursuit whatsoever, criminal or civil, that can or may be competent in either of their persons or their foresaids against the other for the same, *pise lite et causa* for ever; without prejudice to either of the foresaid parties to set whatsoever lands alleged to pertain to either of them, lying within the other's bounds, as law will; and for their further security, bind and oblige them, taking the burden on them, as said is, each one to make, subscribe, and deliver letters of slains to the other for whatsoever slaughters [were] committed by either of them on [the] other's friends, servants, and tenants in due and competent form, if need be, so that the said parties and each one of them by their own moyens and diligence may deal and travel with His Majesty and Council for His Highness's remission for the same; and hereto both the parties bind and oblige them by the faith and truth in their bodies to observe, keep, and fulfil the promises each one to [the] other, and never to come in the contrar hereof, directly or indirectly, under the pain of perjury and defamation for ever: and, further, faithfully promise, bind, and oblige them



to live hereafter in Christian society and peace, and each one of them to assist and maintain [the] other in their honest and lesome affairs and business. And for the more security, if need be, they are content, and consent that these presents be inserted and registered in the Books of Council and Session, and the same to have the strength of an Act and Decreet of the Lords thereof, interponed hereto with execution to direct hereupon in form as effeirs," etc., etc.\*

The document is signed by both the parties, duly tested and witnessed in proper form, Lachlan Mackinnon of Strath, signing as one of the witnessess in the Gaelic character.

On the 4th of May, 1610, Roderick Macleod obtained a remission from the King for all his past crimes. On the 18th of the same month, James VI. wrote him a letter, requiring his assistance in an affair, the nature of which the King communicated to him through the Earl of Dunbar, and regarding which, His Majesty said, "We shall not fail to remember when any occasion fit for your good shall be offered."

On the 28th of June he presented himself before the King in Edinburgh, with Macdonald of Sleat, Mackinnon of Strath, and three others of the leading Island Chiefs, to hear the Royal pleasure declared to them, when they were taken bound to give securities in a large amount to appear before the Privy Council in May, 1611, and to aid the King's lieutenants, justices, and commissioners in all matters connected with the Isles. They pledged themselves that they should ever after live together in "peace, love, and amity," and that any questions of difference arising between them should be settled in the ordinary course of law. In consequence, there were scarcely any disturbances in the Isles during that year.

On the 18th of July, 1611, Macleod acquired from Kenneth, first Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, the five unciate lands of Waternish, which his Lordship had previously purchased from Sir George Hay and others, who got possession

\* *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, pp. 204-205, from the original in the Dunvegan Charter Chest.

of them on the forfeiture of the Macleods of Lewis, to whom these lands until then belonged. In part payment of Waternish, Roderick disposed to Mackenzie of Kintail the two uncates of land in Troternish, which belonged to himself, with the bailliary of the old extent of eight merks which had been united to the Barony of the Lewis, and in which William Macleod, XII. of Macleod, had been served heir to his father, Tormod, in 1585. On the following day, the 19th of July, Roderick obtained from Sir George Hay, who had now become Viscount Duplin, and from the other Fife Adventurers—to whom all Macleod's estates were granted when Roderick Macleod was forfeited, in 1597, for declining to produce his titles in terms of the Act of Parliament of that year—a disposition of all his lands, except Troternish, Sleat, and North Uist; and on these titles, and his own resignation to the Crown, he obtained, on the 4th of August, 1611, a new charter, under the Great Seal, of the lands of Dunvegan, Glenelg, Waternish, etc., containing a novodamus, taxing the ward and erecting the whole into the Barony of Dunvegan, in favour of himself and the heirs-male of his body, with remainder to Alexander Macleod of Minginish, his brother-german, and the heirs-male of his body, with remainder to William, *alias* MacWilliam Macleod of Meidle, heir-male of Tormod, second son of John Borb, VI. of Macleod, and the heirs-male of his body, whom all failing to his own nearest lawful male-heirs whatsoever. He was infeft on this charter on the 22nd of October in the same year.

By a letter dated at Whitehall, 5th of November, 1611, the King granted to Andrew, Bishop of the Isles, “all and whatsoever sums of money shall be resting, owing to His Majesty,” by Roderick Macleod of Dunvegan, and several other Island and Highland Chiefs, therein mentioned, for their share of whatsoever taxation had been granted to His Majesty, within his kingdom, at any time preceding the first day of July, 1606.

Early in 1613, Roderick received from James I. the honour

of knighthood. In June of that year, His Majesty wrote three separate letters, dated Greenwich, recommending Sir Roderick and his affairs, in the strongest terms, to the favourable consideration of the Privy Council. In the same year, Sir Roderick Macleod of Harris, Donald Gorm of Sleat, Hector Maclean of Duart, and Donald Mac-Allan Macdonald of Clanranald, are mentioned in "James Primrois' Information," and in the Records of the Privy Council from January to July, as having settled with the Exchequer, and as continuing in their obedience to the laws.

It was in the same year that Sir Roderick found himself in the somewhat awkward possession of the person of Neil Macleod the Bastard, who had stood out so long against the Mackenzies in the Lewis, and had finally to abandon the Rock of Berrisay, where he held out for three years after all the Macleods of Lewis had been driven from the mainland of the Island. Being forced to evacuate this rock by Sir Roderick Mackenzie, tutor of Kintail, Neil escaped to Harris, "where he remained for a while in secret, but at length surrendered himself to Ruari Macleod of Harris, whom he entreated to take him to the King of England. This, the Chief of Harris undertook to do; but, when at Glasgow with his prisoner, preparing to embark for England, he was charged, under pain of treason, to deliver Neil Macleod to the Privy Council at Edinburgh, which he accordingly did; and, at the same time, gave up Neil's son, Donald. Neil was brought to trial, convicted and executed, and died 'very christianlie,' in April, 1613."

In the Mackenzie family manuscripts it is said that it was Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Coigeach who was instrumental in getting Macleod of Harris charged to give up Neil to the Privy Council, and Rory Mor, according to the same authorities, prevailed upon Neil and his son to accompany him to Edinburgh "to seek forgiveness" from the King in person, upon which pretence Roderick induced Neil and his son to go. On their arrival in Edinburgh, he

at once delivered them to the Privy Council, when, as we have seen, Neil was executed, and his son was banished to England, where he remained for three years, under the protection of Sir Robert Gordon, tutor of Sutherland, and afterwards went to Holland, where he died, without issue.

On the 16th of September, 1613, Sir Roderick was served heir in special to his uncle, William Macleod, IX. of Macleod, in the lands of Troternish, Sleat, and North Uist, and, on the 11th of February, 1614, he was infeft in the same lands on a precept from Chancery.

In 1615 Sir James Macdonald of Islay having escaped from prison, and having broken out with his followers into open rebellion, Sir Roderick Macleod, the Captain of Clanranald, and Macdonald of Sleat, received instructions to defend their estates against an old pirate, Coll MacGillespick, who assisted Macdonald, with two hundred men each. These three Chiefs, it was afterwards alleged, entered into a special bond of friendship with Sir James Macdonald of Islay, and other arrangements had to be made.

In 1616 Sir Roderick Macleod of Dunvegan, Macdonald of Clanranald, the Chiefs of Duart, Lochbuy, and Coll, and Mackinnon of Strath, appeared before the Privy Council, when strict measures were adopted to secure their future obedience and good conduct. They bound themselves mutually as sureties for each other, undertaking to observe the following conditions:—

First, that their clans should keep good order, and that they themselves should appear before the Council, annually, on the 10th of July, and oftener if required, on being legally summoned.

Secondly, that they should exhibit annually a certain number of their principal kinsmen, out of a larger number contained in a list given by them to the Council. Duart was to exhibit four; Macleod, three; Clanranald, two; and Coll, Lochbuy, and Mackinnon, one of these chieftains or heads of houses, in their clans, respectively.

Thirdly, that they were not to maintain in their households more than the following proportions of gentlemen, according to their rank—viz., Duart, eight; Macleod and Clanranald, six; and the others three each.

Fourthly, that they were to free their countries of “sorners” and idle men having no lawful occupation.

Fifthly, that none of them were to carry hackbuts or pistols, unless when employed in the King’s service; and that none but the Chiefs and their household gentlemen were to wear swords, or armour, or any other weapons whatever.

Sixthly, that the Chiefs were to reside at the following places, respectively—viz., Macleod at Dunvegan; Maclean of Duart at that place; Clanranald at Elantirim; Maclean of Coll at Bistache; Lochbuy at Moy; and Mackinnon at Kilmore. Such of them as had not convenient dwelling-houses corresponding to their rank at these places were to build, without delay, “civil and comelie” houses, or repair those that were decayed. They were likewise to make “policie and planting” about their houses, and to take “mains,” or home-farms, into their own hands, which they were to cultivate, “to the effect they might be thereby exercised, and eschew idleness.” Clanranald, who had no “mains” about his Castle of Elantirim, chose for his home-farm the lands of Howbeg, in Uist.

Seventhly, that, at the term of Martinmas next, they were to let the remainder of their lands to tenants, for a certain fixed rent, in lieu of all exactions.

Eighthly, that no single Chief should keep more than one birlinn, or galley, of sixteen or eighteen oars; and that, in their voyages through the Isles, they should not oppress the country people.

Ninthly, that they should send all their children, above nine years of age, to school in the Lowlands, to be instructed in reading, writing, and speaking the English language; and that none of their children should be served heir to their fathers, or received as a tenant by the King, who had not received that education. This provision regarding

education was confirmed by an Act of Privy Council, which bore that “the chief and principal cause which has procured and procures the continuance of barbarity, impiety, and incivility, within the Isles of this kingdom, has proceeded from the small care that the Chiefs and principal Clansmen of the Isles have had of the education and upbringing of their children in virtue and learning, who being careless of their duties in that point, and keeping their children still at home with them, where they see nothing in their tender years but the barbarous and uncivil form of the country, they are thereby made to apprehend that there is no other form of duty and civility kept in any other part of the country; so that, when they come to the years of maturity, hardly can they be reclaimed from these barbarous, rude, and uncivil forms, which, for lack of instruction, were bred and settled in them in their youth; whereas, if they had been sent to the Inland (the low country) in their youth, and trained up in virtue, learning, and the English tongue, they would have been the better prepared to reform their countries, and to reduce the same to Godliness, obedience, and civility.”

Lastly, the Chiefs were not to use in their houses more than the following quantities of wine respectively, viz.:—Duart and Macleod, four tuns each; Clanranald, three tuns; and Coll, Lochbuy, and Mackinnon, one tun each; and they were to take strict order throughout their whole estates that none of their tenants or vassals should buy or drink any wine.

A very strict Act of the Privy Council against excess of drinking accompanied this obligation of the Chiefs. It proceeded on the narrative that “the great and extraordinary excess in drinking of wine, commonly used among the commons and tenants of the Isles, is not only an occasion of the beastly and barbarous cruelties and inhumanities that fall out among them, to the offence and displeasure of God, and contempt of law and justice, but, with that, it draws numbers of them to miserable necessity and poverty, so that they are constrained,



when they want from their own, to take from their neighbours."

On the 16th of June, 1616, the King granted Sir Roderick a licence, under his own hand and seal, by which he was permitted to travel out of Scotland, and go to the English Court whenever he should find it convenient to do so, without anyone having the right to challenge or pursue him.

In terms of their engagements the previous year, Sir Roderick Macleod, and the other Island Chiefs, presented themselves and their kinsmen, of whom Macleod had to produce three, before the Council, in July, 1617, and continued to do so with fair regularity until 1619, when the date of the visit was, at their own request, changed from July to February. In 1621, however, the date was again altered from February to July, owing to the roughness of the weather in the early spring months of the year.

In 1616 he disposed the lands of Troternish, Sleat, and North Uist, so long in dispute between the families of Sleat and Dunvegan, to Sir Donald Gorm Og Macdonald. There had been an action at law going on in connection with these lands between Macleod and Donald Gorm Mor, who died in December, 1616. This action had been continued by Macdonald's nephew and successor, Sir Donald Gorm Og, and in this year an agreement by arbitration was arrived at under which a certain sum of money was awarded to Sir Roderick Macleod for his claim on these lands; and in order to secure payment of the award it was agreed that he should keep possession of the lands for so many years, and pay himself with the rents, when, at the date named in the decree arbitral, they should finally pass to Sir Donald Gorm Og and his heirs.

In 1622, Sir Roderick presented himself, with several other Highland Chiefs, when several important Acts, relating to the Isles, were enacted by the Privy Council. By the first of these Acts they were taken bound to build and repair their parish churches to the satisfaction of the Bishop of the Isles, whom they promised to meet

at Icolmkill, to make the necessary arrangements as to the form, manner, and time, in which this Act was to be carried out.\*

By another Act, masters of vessels were prohibited from carrying more wine to the Hebrides than the quantity granted to the Chiefs and gentlemen of the Isles by the Act of 1617, the quantity allowed Sir Roderick Macleod being four tuns per annum. According to the preamble of the Act of 1622, the chief cause which retarded the civilisation of the Isles was the great quantity of wine imported yearly. It is there stated that "with the insatiable desire whereof the said Islanders are so far possessed, when there arrives any ship or other vessel there with wines, they spend both days and nights in their excess of drinking so long as there is any of the wine left; so that, being overcome with drink, there falls out many inconveniences among them, to the break of His Majesty's peace."

By a third Act, Sir Roderick Macleod, Sir Donald Gorm Macdonald of Sleat, Macdonald of Clanranald, and Mac-kinnon of Strath, were bound not to molest those engaged in fishing in the Isles, under very severe and heavy penalties.

Sir Roderick Macleod of Harris is with a number of others mentioned in a commission by James VI. dated the 18th of June, 1622, to pursue the Clan Cameron with fire and sword for refusing to render their obedience to the King, and for associating with "ane number of otheris theivis, traytouries, and lymmaries."

In a contract between Sir John Grant of Freuchie, and Allan Cameron of Lochiel and others, dated 21st September and 10th December, 1623, and 20th April and 1st May,

\* The agreement is as follows :—"At Edinburgh, 23rd July, 1622, the whilk day Sir Donald Gorme, Sir Rorie Macleud, and the Lairds of Mac-kynnoun, Coill, and Lochbuy compeir, and personallie befor the Lordis of Secrete Counsell, they acted and oblist thame to builde and repaire their Paroche Kirkis at the sicht of the Bishope of the Ilis; and that thay shall convene and meit with the Bishope at Icolmkill upoun suche daye and dayis as with mutuall concert sall be aggreit upoun, and thair confer, ressoun, resolve, and conclude upoun the forme and maner and upoun the tyme quhen and in what forme the said kirkis sall be biggit."

1624, Sir Roderick Macleod becomes bound, with others, that Allan Cameron should compear personally before the Lords of Secret Council on the 10th of July following, and find sufficient sureties, acted in the Books of Secret Council, to the satisfaction of their Lordships, in such sums as they should appoint, for his good behaviour and for his obedience to law and justice in all time coming. Among the witnesses to Sir Roderick's signature in this contract is "Mr. William McCleod, sister's son to the said Sir Rorie," whose father was Torquil Dubh, son of Roderick Macleod, X. of the Lewis.

In 1624, Macleod, with other Highland Chiefs who had previously become answerable for the good conduct of the MacIans of Ardnamurchan, was called upon to exhibit the leaders of that tribe before the Privy Council in January, 1625, they having broken out in rebellion during the year. Failing to comply with this order, Sir Roderick was, along with the other sureties, denounced a rebel, according to law.

The Clan Ian had for a time become the terror of the whole west coast of Scotland and the Isles, and we find them being chased out of Skye, in 1625, by Macleod and a body of his clan, by whom they were pursued to Clanranald's lands, where they hid themselves in the woods. Soon after this Macleod was joined by Lord Lorn, who, with his forces arrived at Ardnamurchan, where, meeting Macleod and others, they joined together, engaged against the Clan Ian, speedily suppressed the insurrection, and killed or banished the leaders. After that date the warlike Clan Ian of Ardnamurchan are never again met with as a separate and independent tribe, the survivors it would seem having joined and identified themselves with their neighbours, the Macdonalds of Clanranald.

Sir Roderick is described as a man of noble spirit, celebrated for great military prowess and resource. His hospitality was unbounded, and he was in all respects well entitled to be called "Mor," or great in all the good qualities that went to constitute a great Highland

Chief and leader of men in his day. The Gaelic bards were enthusiastic in their praises of his great qualities of head and heart. No wonder, says a recent writer,\* that his piper, Patrick Mòr MacCrimmon, should have taken his death very much to heart. He could no longer wait at Dunvegan Castle, but, shouldering his great pipe, he made for his house at Borreraig, and composed and struck up, as he went along, “Cumha Ruairidh Mhoir” —Rory Mòr’s Lament—which is considered the most melodious, feeling, and melancholy “Piobaireachd” known. The writer then gives some of the Gaelic words to this air, with an English translation by D. Mackintosh, as follows :—

Tog orm mo phiob ’us theid mi dhachaidh,  
 ’S duilich leam fhein, mo leir mar thachair ;  
 Tog orm mo phiob ’us mi air mo chradh,  
 Mu Ruairidh Mor, mu Ruairidh Mor.

Tog orm mo phiob—tha mi sgith ;  
 ’S mur faigh mi i theid mi dhachaidh ;  
 Tog orm mo phiob—tha mi sgith,  
 ’S mi air mo chradh mu Ruairidh Mor.

Tog orm mo phiob—tha mi sgith,  
 ’S mur faigh mi i theid mi dhachaidh,  
 Clarsach no piob cha tog mo chridh,  
 Cha bheo fear mo ghraidh, Ruairidh Mor.

My pipe hand me, and home I’ll go,  
 This sad event fills me with woe ;  
 My pipe hand me, my heart is sore,  
 My Rory Mòr, my Rory Mòr.

My pipe hand me—I’m worn with woe,  
 For if you don’t then home I’ll go ;  
 My pipe hand me—I’m weary, sore,  
 My heart is grieved for Rory Mòr.

My pipe hand me—I’m worn with woe,  
 For if you don’t then home I’ll go,  
 Nor harp nor pipe shall cheer me more,  
 For gone’s my friend, my Rory Mòr.

This note, bearing on the hospitality of Sir Rory Mòr, is appended to one of the editions of Scott’s *Lord of the*

\* Cameron’s *History and Traditions of the Isle of Skye*, p. 69.

*Isles*—"There is in the Leabhar Dearg a song intimating the overflowing gratitude of a bard of Clan Ronald, after the exuberance of a Hebridean festival at the patriarchal fortress of Macleod. The translation, being obviously very literal, has greatly flattered, as I am informed, the enthusiastic gratitude of the ancient bard; and it must be owned that the works of Homer and Virgil, to say nothing of MacMhuirich, might have suffered by their transfusion through such a medium. It is pretty plain that when the tribute of poetical praise was bestowed the horn of Rorie Mòre had not been inactive—

"UPON SIR RODERIC MOR MACLEOD, BY NIALL MOR MACMUIRICH.

"The six nights I remained in the Dunvegan, it was not a show of hospitality I met with there, but a plentiful feast in thy fair hall, among thy numerous host of heroes.

"The family placed all around under the protection of their great Chief, raised by his prosperity and respect for his warlike feats, now enjoying the company of his friends at the feast. Amidst the sound of harps, overflowing cups, and happy youth unaccustomed to guile or feud, partaking of the generous fare by a flaming fire.

"Mighty Chief, liberal to all in your princely mansion filled with your numerous warlike host, whose generous wine would overcome the hardest heroes, yet we continued to enjoy the feast, so happy our host, so generous our fare."

Sir Roderick Mor Macleod married Isabel, daughter of Donald Macdonald, VIII. of Glengarry, with issue, five sons and six daughters—

1. John, his heir and successor.
2. Sir Roderick Macleod of Talisker, tutor of Macleod, of whom and his descendants hereafter.
3. Sir Norman Macleod of Bernera, who was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Macleod Regiment at the battle of Worcester, and became one of the most distinguished of the name. Most of the famous Mary Macleod's compositions, supposed hitherto to have been composed to the Chiefs of the Clan, were composed to him, and hence the reason why she was transported to the Island of Mull by the Chief, who became envious of her laudations of his distinguished relative. This subject will be dealt with under THE MACLEODS OF BERNERA AND MUIRAVON-

SIDE, descended from this distinguished soldier and diplomatist.

4. William Macleod of Hamer, from whom the Macleods of Waterstein and others, of whom hereafter.

5. Donald Macleod, progenitor of the Macleods of Greshornish, of whom in their proper place.

6. Margaret, who married Hector Mor Maclean, eldest son and heir of Hector Og Maclean XIV. of Duart, but who died before his father in 1614, without issue. She married secondly, as his second wife, Æneas Macdonell, VII. of Glengarry, with issue—a daughter, Margaret, who married Cuthbert, of Castlehill, Inverness. She thus became the progenitrix of the famous Charles Colbert, Marquis of Seignelay, Minister of Louis XIV. of France.\*

7. Mary, who married Sir Lachlan Maclean of Duart and Morvern, first Baronet, created on the 13th of February, 1632, with issue—two sons, Sir Hector and Sir Allan, and two daughters—Isabel, who married Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, and Mary, who married Lachlan Mackinnon of Strath.

8. Moire or Marion, called “Moire Mhòr,” who married John Macdonald, tenth of Clanranald, with issue.

9. Janet, who married John Garbh Macleod, of Raasay, without issue.

10. Florence, who married Donald MacSween.

11. A daughter, who married Lachlan Maclean, of Coll, with issue—three sons and two daughters.

Sir Roderick Mor Macleod died in 1626, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

#### XIV. JOHN MACLEOD,

Who, on the 9th of November, 1626, was served heir to his father, Sir Roderick, in the lands forming the Barony of Dunvegan, including the castle of that name, and the five unciate lands of Waternish of the old extent of £18 13s. 4d. He was on the same date infeft in the whole

\* *History of the Macdonalds and Lords of the Isles*, p. 303.



family estates, on a precept from Chancery. He was afterwards, on a decret of the Privy Council of Scotland, proceeding on the contract entered into by his father, Sir Roderick, with the Earl of Argyll, and already referred to, obliged to resign the lands of Glenelg into the King's hands, in favour of the Earl's son and successor, and to take a charter of it, holding it of Argyll, while he had to pay his Lordship 20,000 merks for taxing the ward, marriage, and relief, by which tenure it was in future to be held by the Macleods of Dunvegan.

On the 19th of September, 1628, John Macleod of Dunvegan entered into a contract with the Earl of Seaforth, Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, John Macdonald of Clanranald, Sir Lachlan Mackinnon of Strath, and Alexander Macleod of Raasay, for the preservation of deer and other game on their respective estates, and for the punishment of any person trespassing in pursuit of game. The agreement is, in several respects, so similar to the game laws of our own times, including the provision that one witness shall be sufficient to procure a conviction, that we give the document nearly entire, simply modernising the orthography. After giving the names of the contracting parties by whom "it is condescended, contracted, finally and mutually agreed and ended" between them, the document proceeds—

"That is to say, for as much as there has been diverse and sundry good Acts of Parliament made by His Majesty's predecessors, Kings of Scotland of worthy memory, wherein shooting with guns, bows and hounds, are absolutely forbidden for slaying and shooting of deer and roe and other beasts pasturing within His Majesty's bounds of Scotland as, at more length is contained in the said Acts of Parliament; for keeping and fulfilling whereof and for preserving and keeping the deer and roes within everyone of the honourable parties' forests, Isles and bounds, alive, and for keeping good society and neighbourhood among them; wit ye that the said honorable parties are hereby become bound and obliged, like as by the tenor hereof they faithfully bind and oblige them each one of them for their own parts and taking the full burden in and upon

them respectively for their whole kin, men-tenants, and countrymen within every one of their bounds and isles, that they nor either of them, their kin, friends, men-tenants nor countrymen, shall nowise hereafter in time coming, presume nor take upon hand to hunt with dogs, to slay with hagbut or bow, any hart, hind, deer, roe, or doe, or any other beasts, either of the said honorable parties' forests, either on the continent, main, or isles, pertaining to either of the said honorable parties, without special license had and obtained in writing of the superior of the forest to the forester of the forest; and whatsoever person, gentleman-tenant, or common countryman that presumes hereafter to hunt with dogs, shoot with guns or bow, any deer or roe in either of the foresaid honorable parties' forests, without the said license, purchased at the said superior's hands, the offender gentle [man] breaker of this contract and condescending shall hereby be bound and obliged to pay and deliver to the honorable party, owner of the forest, for the first fault, the sum of one hundred merks money of this realm, and the hagbut or bow to be taken from him and to be delivered to the superior of the forest in whose bounds, forest, or isles, the same wrong and contempt [may] be committed and done, and *toties quoties* for every breach of this present contract and condescending; the tenant to be hereby such-like bound and obliged to pay and deliver to the party, owner of the forest, for the first fault, the sum of forty pounds money, and the hagbut to the superior of the forest, and *toties quoties* for every breach of this present contract; and whatsoever common man or any other straggling person that [may] be found carrying a hagbut or bow through any of the said honorable parties' forests for slaying deer or roe, and that he be not solvendo, nor worthy the unlaw to be imposed upon him for his contempt, the hagbut or bow [is] to be delivered to the superior of the forest where he shall happen to be found and his body [is] to be punished according as pleases the superior of the forest: Like as it is condescended by the said honorable parties in respect that many witnesses do not haunt nor travel through the said forests by reason the same is far distant and spacious from them, *that one witness shall be sufficient probation* against whatsoever person that [may] be found in manner foresaid in either of the said honorable parties' forests with hagbut, bow, or hound, and the party challenging and delaying to have for his pains and reward the third of the offender's fine, and the

hagbut to the superior: Such-like the foresaid honorable parties are hereby become bound and obliged, like as they by the tenor hereof bind and oblige themselves, to deliver the transgressor and offender to the effect the party wronged and offended may censure and fine him according to the gravity of his contempt and fault, after trial thereof by famous and honest men; and [that] the party offending be presented to the said superior offended within fifteen days after the wrong is committed, under the pain of one hundred pounds money foresaid to be paid to the party wronged and offended, by the superior of him who commits the wrong and contempt of this present contract; and what the said famous and honest men after trial decerns [against] the transgressor for his fine and contempt, his superior shall be hereby bound and obliged to deliver to the honorable party wronged and offended his readiest goods and gear; aye, and until the honorable party wronged and offended be completely paid of the offender's fine, under the like pains of one hundred pounds *toties quoties*: And, finally, it is hereby specially condescended with consent of the said honorable parties above written that none or either of their countrymen or people shall take their course by boats, either to the lochs or harbours within the forests of Lewis and Harris, excepting the Lochs of Herisole in Lewis, pertaining to the said noble earl; the Loch of Tarbert in Harris, pertaining to the said John Macleod; Lochmaddy, Lochefort, Loch-Mhic-Phail, and Kilrona in Uist, pertaining to the said Sir Donald Macdonald, in case they be not driven and distressed by stress of weather; and in case they be driven and distressed by stress of weather in any other lochs within the Islands of Lewis and Harris, it is hereby condescended that the keepage of every boat that shall happen to come in with their boats to any of the lochs above-written (except before excepted) with hagbuts, bows, or dog, shall not pass nor travel from their boats one pair of 'buttis'; and if any be found with gun, bow, or dog, to exceed the same bounds, hereby [he] shall be holden as an offender and 'contempnar' of this present contract and condescending, and to be punished and fined as is above-written; and ordains this present minute of contract and condescending to be put in more ample form if need require."

It is agreed that the document shall be registered in the Books of Council, that it shall have the strength of a

Decree of their Lordships, and that Letters of execution, poinding, and horning may follow thereon, "on a charge of ten days," in the usual form. It is subscribed by all the parties thereto, and witnessed by John Mackenzie of Lochslinn; William Macleod of Talisker; John Mackenzie of Fairburn; and John Nicolson and John Ross, Notars.\*

During John's reign serious difficulty arose between the Island Chiefs and the Council in connection with the fishings on the West Coast. The landowners were charged with exacting sundry duties from the King's subjects, to their great prejudice when fishing near the Isles; and, also, with "bringing in strangers and loading the vessels with fish and other native commodities, contrary to our laws." Charles the First wrote a letter to the Privy Council, dated 26th May, 1634, requesting their Lordships to call before them at once "the landlords of the Isles where the fishing is, and taking account of them by knowing upon what warrant they take these duties. The Council appointed the Lord of Lorn and the Bishop of the Isles to make the necessary inquiry. These gentlemen appeared personally before the Lords of the Privy Council at Edinburgh, on the 20th of November following, and handed in a report dated at Inveraray the previous 29th of August.

At the latter place, in response to the summonses calling upon them to appear, the following landlords and heritors presented themselves for examination:—Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat; John Macleod of Dunvegan; John Macdonald, Captain of Clanranald; Neil Macneil of Barra; Sir Lauchlan Maclean of Morvern; Murdoch Maclean of Lochbuy; Lauchlan Maclean of Coll; and Lauchlan, son of Charles Mackinnon, for Mackinnon of Strath. They were asked in turn by the Commissioners what duties they exacted from people for fishing on their respective coasts, when Sir Donald Macdonald; John Macleod of Dunvegan; the Captain of Clanranald; and Neil Macneil of Barra, declared, *viva voce*—"That it was the ancient custom,

\* *General Record of Deeds*, Vol. 408. Recorded on the 3rd of November, 1628.

before the date of the contract after-specified (which they think to be about fourteen years since or thereby), for everyone of them in whose bounds the herring fishing fell out, to exact of every bark and ship resorting thereto, for anchorage or ground lease, *one barrell of ale or meal*, in the owner's option; and, for each anchor laid on shore, *six shillings and eightpence*; and, out of every last of herring slain there, *three pounds of money*; together *with the benefit of every Saturday's fishing*; and that now they exact only from His Majesty's subjects of the Association for each ship and bark that comes to the herring fishing, *thirty-six shillings* Scots money; and for each ship that comes to the gray and white fishing, *twenty merks*; and this for anchorage and ground lease, conform to a contract passed between the said Sir Donald, John Macranald [of Clanranald] and [the] umquhile Sir Rorie Macleod, and some others of the Islanders, on the one part, and certain of the Burghs in the East country on the other part, in 1620 or thereby." In answer to questions put to them, they maintained that they were entitled to make the charges complained of, in terms of the previous contract referred to; that they uplifted the duties, being heritors of the adjoining lands and therefore entitled to do so, it being an ancient custom past memory of man. The other Chiefs summoned declared that there were no fishings within their bounds, but, if there were, "they would be content to exact no more than the said North Islanders do." The document is signed by all those whose names are mentioned in the body of it, by Lord Lorn and by the Bishop of the Isles—Macneill, Maclean of Coll, and Lauchlan Mackinnon, declaring that their names were written "at our commands, because we cannot write ourselves."\*

On the 7th of August, 1635, a Proclamation was issued in which it is stated that "great insolencies" had been committed upon His Majesty's subjects fishing in the Isles, by the Islanders coming in troops and companies to the lochs where the fish were taken, and there violently spoiling

\* *Register of the Secret Council* of same date.



the King's subjects of their fish, "and sometimes of their victuals and other furniture; pursues them of their lives, breaks the shoals of the herring, and commits more insolencies upon them, to the great hinder and disappointing of the fishing, hurt of His Majesty's subjects, to the contempt of His Majesty's authority and laws;" for the preventing of which disorders John Macleod of Dunvegan and the others named on this occasion, including the Earl of Seaforth and Sir Donald Campbell of Ardnamurchan, in addition to those named in the previously quoted document, are charged "that none of them presume nor take upon hands to give warrant to any persons whatsoever under them, but to such for whose good rule they will be answerable."\* These documents are instructive as showing the nature of the claims made by the land-owners of those days, even to the herring that frequented their coasts.

John Macleod, on account of his great strength and size, was known among his countrymen as "Ian Mor," or Big John. He has a charter, under the Great Seal, of the lands and barony of Dunvegan, Glenelg, and others, dated the 11th of June, 1634.

He was a great loyalist, strongly attached to the interests of Charles I., who wrote him a very friendly letter, dated Durham, 2nd of May, 1639, thanking him for his services and promising him his constant favour. He continued in his loyalty all his life, though he appears to have refused to join Montrose, which may be accounted for from the fact that Alexander Macdonald, Montrose's lieutenant, devastated the lands of the Earl of Argyll, who, as we have already seen, was Macleod's superior in most of his estates.

John is said to have been a most benevolent man, remarkable for his piety, and to have been at great pains to improve the morals of his countrymen, who seem to have been much in need of it; for he secured for himself the designation of "Lot in Sodom," clearly indicating the

\* *Register of the Secret Council* of same date.



contrast between his own manner of life and that of those by whom he was surrounded in the Isles.

In the Valuation Roll for the County of Inverness, in 1644, he appears as "Sir John Macleod of Dunvegan," his rental in Skye being, in that year, £7000 Scots, the highest rented proprietor appearing in the county at that time. His four brothers appear on the same roll—Roderick (of Talisker), in Eynort and Bracadale, at £1200; Norman (afterwards Sir Norman of Bernera), in the Parish of Kilbride, at £533 6s. 8d.; William (of Hamer), in Kilmuir, at the same sum; and Donald, of Greshornish, at £666 13s. 4d., all Scots money. Macleod of Raasay's rental, at that date, was exactly the same as Donald Macleod's of Greshornish.

In a communication from George Stirling, at Tullibardine, to the Laird of Grant, under date 20th December, 1648, Macleod is mentioned as one of the "greatt men" likely to be cited before the Parliament on the 4th of January following, along with Seaforth, Sir James Macdonald of Sleat, and others, to find caution for their good behaviour.

John of Dunvegan married Sibella, daughter of Kenneth, first Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, by his second wife, Isobel, daughter of Sir Gilbert Ogilvie of Powrie. She was thus half-sister of Colin, first, and full sister of George, second Earl of Seaforth. By her (who, as her second husband, married Alexander Fraser, Tutor of Lovat; and, as her third husband, Patrick Grant of Cluny Mor and Cluny Beg, second son of Sir John Grant of Freuchie, and Tutor of Grant) Macleod had issue, two sons and five daughters—

1. Roderick, his heir and successor.
2. John, who succeeded his brother, Roderick.
3. Mary, who married, first, as his second wife, her cousin, Sir James Macdonald IX. of Sleat, with issue, John Macdonald of Backney. She married, secondly, Muir of Rowallson.
4. Marion, who married her cousin, Donald Macdonald XI. of Clanranald, with issue, among others, Allan and Ranald, twelfth and thirteenth Chiefs of the family in

succession. Her husband died at Canna in 1686, and her son, Allan, was killed at Sheriffmuir.

5. Giles, or Julian, who married, first, Sir Alan Maclean, third Baronet of Morvern and Duart, with surviving issue—Sir John Maclean, fourth Baronet, who fought when quite a young man under Dundee at Killiecrankie and afterwards led his Clan to Sheriffmuir, where he fought at their head under the Earl of Mar. She married, secondly, Campbell of Glendaruel.

6. Sibella, who in 1665 married Thomas Fraser of Beaufort, tenth Lord Lovat, with issue, among others, Simon, Lord Lovat, beheaded in 1746 for his part in the Rising of 1745; and Alexander, from whom John Fraser of Wales, the present claimant to the Lovat honours and estates, traces his descent.

7. Margaret, who married Sir James Campbell of Lawers, without issue.

John Macleod died early in September, 1649, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

#### XV. RODERICK MACLEOD,

Commonly called "Rory the Witty." He was a minor at the date of his father's death. Sir Roderick Macleod of Talisker, his uncle and Tutor, took charge of the Clan, and supported Charles II. against Cromwell. When the King arrived in Scotland in 1650, he issued a Proclamation requesting all his Scottish subjects to gather to his standard, when Sir Roderick Macleod raised a regiment of 700 men, nearly all composed of Macleods, his nephew's clansmen. The Lieutenant-Colonelcy of this fine body he gave to his brother, Norman Macleod of Bernera, who was ordered to raise an additional three hundred men to bring his regiment up to a thousand. This splendid corps, with the two gallant brothers at its head, accompanied Charles II., in 1651, to the Battle of Worcester, where most of them fell. The Clan was almost ruined. So great was the slaughter among them that it was agreed to by the other Clans that the Macleods should not take part

in another conflict until they had had time to multiply and recover their losses. Talisker managed to effect his escape, and, in disguise, to find his way back to the Highlands ; but his brother, Lieutenant-Colonel Norman, was taken prisoner, kept in confinement for eighteen months, at the end of which he was tried for his life. Through a flaw in the indictment, procedure was sisted ; he was sent back to prison, and finally escaped. For full particulars of his career the reader is referred to *THE MACLEODS OF BERNERA*, an account of which will be found under a separate heading.

After the defeat of General Middleton's army at Lochgarry, by General Morgan, it was decided at a Council of War that no more could be done for the Royal cause, under existing conditions. General Middleton, accompanied by Dalziel, Drummond, and several other officers, retired to Dunvegan, under the protection of the Macleods, while others took up their quarters in Lochaber, under the roof of the famous Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel. During the winter Sir Ewen accompanied his guests to Dunvegan Castle, where several other Highland Chiefs came to meet him. A Council was held, and, after much and serious deliberation, it was decided that they should all submit, before they were completely ruined, and make the best terms they could with Cromwell's lieutenants ; for Charles was now quite unable to support them with any money, men, or arms. It had previously been intimated, on behalf of the Usurper, through secret sources, to the Highland Chiefs, that, if they laid down their arms, they would be restored to their fortunes and estates ; and, with this knowledge, they acted the wiser part by agreeing to submit. The Royalist commanders were well received and hospitably entertained at Dunvegan Castle. The Tutor's loyalty, activity, and sufferings in the Royal cause were well known to them, and, before leaving, they thought it right to acknowledge his conduct and the fidelity of his family and Clan, by recording their services, and recommending him to the King in a document given at length under



THE MACLEODS OF TALISKER, where a full account of his services will be found.

After this, Sir Roderick of Talisker lived quietly at home in the Isle of Skye, until after the Restoration of Charles II., when he proceeded to pay his respects to His Majesty in London. He was most graciously received, as his services so justly merited, and the King conferred upon him the honour of knighthood.

Roderick Macleod of Macleod having become of age, succeeded in getting the sequestration of his estate removed, and getting himself under the protection of Oliver Cromwell, through the influence of General Monk, upon finding security for his future peaceable behaviour to the amount of £6000, and paying a fine of £2500 sterling. From this agreement, following on his capitulation, and which is dated the 30th of May, 1655, both his uncles—Roderick Macleod of Talisker, and Norman Macleod of Bernera—are expressly excluded. On the 22nd of November following he was served heir in special to his father, and, on the 24th of February, 1656, he was duly infeft in the family estates by a precept from Chancery, except the lands of Glenelg, in which he was infeft on the 19th of October, 1657, in virtue of a precept of Clare Constat and charter of Novodamus from the subject superior.

After the Restoration of Charles II., in 1660, Roderick proceeded to London to pay his homage to the King, and was very kindly received by His Majesty. He was, however, so much cut up because Charles made no reference to the ruin of his family and the Clan Macleod at the battle of Worcester, and its mournful results in Skye, that he at once returned home. He had taken his piper, Patrick Mor MacCrimmon, who had also been at the battle of Worcester, along with him to Court, on which occasion he was allowed "to kiss hands," as a very special honour. MacCrimmon appears to have thought a great deal more about this incident than of the slaughter of his clansmen at the battle of Worcester, and he com-

memorated the honour conferred upon him, and the other polite attentions paid to him by the King, by composing the famous Piobaireachd—"Thug mi pog do laimh an Rìgh"—(I kissed the King's hand)—one of the verses of which is as follows:—

Thug mi pog 'us pog 'us pog,  
 Gun d' thug mi pog do laimh an Rìgh;  
 'S cha d' chuir gaoth an craicionn caorach,  
 Fear a fhuair an fhaoilt ach mi.

It was to this Chief that Mary Macleod—"Mairi Nighean Alastair Ruaidh"—the famous Skye poetess, composed the well-known elegy—"Cumha do Mhac-Leoid." From this poem it would appear that Roderick died away from his native land, certainly not at home; for she says—

Ge goirt leam an naigheachd,  
 Tha mi faighinn air Ruairidh,  
 Gun a chorp bhi 'san duthaich,  
 Anns an tuama bu dual da.

It would also appear from the same poem that Roderick had a son Norman, who predeceased his father, for the poetess says, in another stanza—

Ach a Ruairidh Mhic Iain,  
 'S goirt leam fhaighinn an sgeul-s' ort,  
 Se mo chreach-sa mac t' athar,  
 Bhi na laidhe gun eiridh;  
 Agus *Tormod a mhac-sa*,  
 A thasgaidh mo cheille!  
*Gur e aobhar mo ghearain,*  
*Gun chailleadh le cheil' iad.*

He had also a daughter, who married Stewart of Appin, and whose husband claimed the estate, on the death of her father without surviving male heirs. Mary resents this claim in a burst of patriotic fervour, and exclaims—

Mhic Iain Stiubhairt na h-Apunn,  
 Ged a's gasd' an duin' og thu,  
 Ged tha Stiubhartaich beachdail,  
 'S iad tapaidh 'n am foirneart,  
 Na gabhsa meanmadh, no aiteas,  
 A's an staid ud nach coir dhut;  
 Cha toir thu i dh'aindeoin,  
 'S cha'n fhaigh thu le deoin i.

C'uim an tigeadh fear coigreach,  
 A thagradh ur n'oghreachd;  
 Ged nach eil e ro-dhearbhtha,  
 Gur searbh e ri eisdeachd;  
 Ged tha sinn' air ar creachadh  
 Mu chloinn mhac an fhir fheillidh,  
 Sliochd Ruairidh Mhoir allail,  
 'S gur airidh iad fhein oirr'.

This Chief, whose death the poetess so bitterly mourns, and whose career she so highly extols, would seem to be the same Macleod who had banished her to the Island of Mull, where she still appears to have been at the time of his death, and where, apparently, she composed his elegy.

In Douglas' *Baronage* it is stated that Roderick died without issue. It is, however, clear, from "Cumha Mhic-Leoid," that he had both male and female issue; though his son, Norman, predeceased him. John Mackenzie, of *The Beauties of Gaelic Poetry*, in a foot-note to the above-quoted poem, says that "Stewart of Appin was married to a daughter of Macleod of Dunvegan, which made the Macleods afraid that he should claim a right to the estate, on account of Macleod having left no male-heir."

Roderick married Margaret, eldest daughter of Sir John Mackenzie of Tarbat (eldest son of Sir Roderick Mackenzie, Tutor of Kintail, and progenitor of the Earls of Cromarty), by Margaret, daughter of Sir George Erskine of Innerteil, a Lord of Session, without, as we have seen, surviving male issue. She married, as her second husband, Sir George Campbell of Lawers, in the County of Perth.

Roderick Macleod died in January, 1664, when he was succeeded by his only brother,

## XVI. JOHN MACLEOD,

Known among his own countrymen as "Ian Breac," or Speckled John, who was served heir in special to his brother, Roderick, on the 11th of August, 1664, and infeft in the estates of the family held of the Crown, on a precept from Chancery, and in Glenelg, at the same time,



on a precept of Clare Constat, from the subject superior. John Breac, one of the most popular of the Macleods, was, according to his contemporaries, a model Highland Chief. His good qualities of head and heart are commemorated in the songs of his country. He kept a bard, harper, piper, and fool at Dunvegan Castle, all of whom were most liberally provided for, and treated with all the respect and consideration due in those days to their respective callings. His bard was the famous "Mairi Nighean Alastair Ruaidh," whom he had recalled from her banishment in Mull. To his second son Norman, who afterwards succeeded John's brother, Roderick, as Chief of the Clan, she composed her famous "Cronan," one of the best and most remarkable poems in the Gaelic language. In another of her compositions Mary says that she nursed five Chiefs of the Macleods and two Lairds of Applecross. She is said to have died in 1693, at the great age of 105, in the same year in which died her favourite Chief, John Breac Macleod, of whom we now write.\*

John's harper was the famous "Clarsair Dall," Roderick Morrison, the son of an Episcopalian minister in the Island of Lewis, born, brought up, and educated as a gentleman; and Macleod always treated him as such. He is said to have been the last man in the Highlands who possessed the combined talents of poet and harper and composer of music in an eminent degree. Of his musical attainments no specimens have been preserved from which we can, in the present day, judge of his merits, but several of his poems have been preserved, and they conclusively prove that he possessed poetical talents of a very high order.

John Mackenzie explains how Rory the Harper became

\* John Mackenzie, in the "Beauties," says that she was born as early as 1569, but this is impossible, from what is known of her after-life. Mackenzie is inaccurate in almost everything he says regarding her and those to whom she composed her famous poems. There was no "Sir Tormod" Chief in her day. There was not in fact any Macleod Chief at any time who was entitled to be styled "Sir Tormod" or Sir Norman.

acquainted with Macleod, and the manner in which he was afterwards treated by that genuine Highland Chief. Morrison's superiority as a musician, Mackenzie says, and his respectable connexions, served him as a pass-word to the best circles in the North. He was caressed and idolized by all who could appreciate his minstrelsy. Induced by the fame of his fellow-harpers in Ireland, he visited that country. On his return to Scotland he called at all the baronial residences in his way. The nobility and gentry of Scotland were at the time paying court to King James at Holyrood Palace. The harper wended his way thither, and during his visit to the Scottish Capital "he met with that sterling model of a Highland Chieftain, John Breac Macleod of Harris," who at once eagerly engaged him as his family harper. During the harper's stay in Dunvegan Castle, he composed several beautiful tunes and songs, and among the rest that fascinating melody known as "Feill nan Crann," which originated out of the following incident: Roderick, sitting one day by the kitchen fire, chanced to let drop the key of his harp in the ashes, and he began to rake among the cinders with his fingers to pick it up, when Macleod's wife, a daughter of Sir James Macdonald of Sleat, entered the room and asked one of the servants "Ciod e tha dhith air Ruairidh"? (What is it that Rory seeks?) The maid replied, "Tha a chrann; chaill e' san luath e"—(His key; he lost it in the ashes.) "Ma ta feumair crann eile 'cheannach do Ruairidh." (Then another key must be bought for Rory), replied the lady: when the gifted minstrel, availing himself of the more extended meaning of the word "crann," forthwith composed the tune, "clothing it in the words of side-splitting humour," and at the same time representing all the kitchen maids as ransacking all the shops in the kingdom to procure for him his lost "crann," or key.

Soon after this the celebrated harper must have left Dunvegan, for in a short time we find him occupying the farm of Totamor, in Glenelg, which his patron, whose

property Glenelg then was, granted to him rent-free. He remained there until he was removed by John Breac's successor; and many of his best musical and poetical pieces were there composed.

The harper "was fondly attached to his patron, whose fame he commemorated in strains of unrivalled beauty and excellence. The chieftains of the Clan Macleod possessed, perhaps, greater nobleness of soul than any other of the Highland gentry; but it must be observed that they were peculiarly successful in enlisting the immortalising strains of the first poets in their favour—our author (the harper) and their own immortal Mary. Rory's elegy on John Breac Macleod, styled 'Creach na Ciadain,' is one of the most pathetic, plaintive, and heart-touching productions we have read during a life half-spent amid the flowery meadows of our Highland Parnassus. After deploring the transition of Macleod's virtues, manliness, and hospitality from the earth, he breaks forth in sombre forebodings as to the degeneracy of his heir, and again luxuriates in the highest ingredients of a Lament. 'Oran Mor Mhic-Leoid,' in which the imaginative powers of the minstrel conjure up scenes of other days with the vividness of reality, is a masterpiece of the kind. It comes before us in the form of a duet, in which Echo (the sound of music), now excluded, like himself, from the festive hall of Macleod, indulges in responsive strains of lamentation that finely harmonise with the poignancy of our poet's grief."\* This last-named song was composed after the Harper was ejected from his farm in Glenelg by John Breac's successor, and while he was on his way back to take up his residence in his native Island of Lewis.

During Macleod's life, Morrison praised his excellent qualities in splendid verse. In "Oran Mor Mhic-Leoid," already referred to, the "Echo," answering the harper, draws the following contrast between the inhospitable and degenerate days which followed on the death of John Breac

\* *The Beauties of Gaelic Poetry and Lives of the Highland Bards.* By John Mackenzie, pp. 85, 86.

and the splendid Highland style kept up during his life.  
The "Echo" says—

- " Tha Mac-talla fo ghruaim.  
Anns an talla 'm biodh fuaim a cheoil ;  
'S ionad taghaich nan cliar,  
Gun aighear, gun mhiagh, gun phoit ;  
Gun mhire, gun mhuim,  
Gun iomracha dlù nan còrn ;  
Gun chuirm, gun phailteas ri dàimh,  
Gun mhacnus, gun mhanran beoil.
- " 'S mi Mac-talla bha uair  
'G eisdeachd fathrum nan duan gu tiugh ;  
Far 'm bu mhuimeach am béus,  
'N am cromadh do'n ghrein 'san t-sruth ;  
Far am b' fhoirmeal na seoid,  
'S iad gu h-oranach, ceolmhor, cluth ;  
Ged nach faicte mo ghnuis,  
Chluinnt' aca 's an Dùn mo ghuth.
- " 'N am eiridh gu moch,  
Ann san teaghlaich, gun spróc, gun ghruaim ;  
Chluinnnte gleadhraich nan dos,  
'S an céile na cois o'n t-suain ;  
'Nuair a ghabhadh i làn,  
'S gun cuireadh os n-aird na fhuaire,  
Le meoir fhileanta, bhinn,  
'S lad gu ruith-leumach, dìonach luath."

John Breac Macleod had set about repairing and adding to his ancient castle of Dunvegan, but he was not able to execute his plans. Thinking, however, when he began, that he should live long enough to finish his designs, he had a Latin inscription, composed by the parish minister, cut on a stone in the building, of which the following is an English translation :—

"John Macleod, Lord of Dunvegan, Harris, and Water-nish, etc., united in marriage to Flora Macdonald, restored in the year of the vulgar era, 1686, his Tower of Dunvegan, long the very ancient abode of his ancestors, which had fallen utterly into decay."

He appears to have been expected to join Dundee and the other leaders of the Highland Clans in 1689, when they met in convention in Lochaber before marching South to meet General Mackay at the battle of Killie-

crankie; but John Macleod kept out of that movement, as his successors afterwards kept out of the Risings of 1715 and 1745 on behalf of the Stuarts. That he was believed to be favourably disposed in 1689 to James II. is clear from the following letter addressed to him by Viscount Dundee, from Moy, in Lochaber, on the date which it bears—

“For the Laird of Macleod.

“Moy, Jun. 23, 1689.

“Sir,—Glengarry gave me an account of the substance of a letter he received from you; I shall only tell you that, if you hasten not to land your men, I am of opinion you will have little occasion to do the King great service; for, if he land in the West of Scotland, you will come too late, as I believe you will think yourself by the news I have to tell you. The Prince of Orange has written to the Scottish Council not to fatigue his troops any more by following us in the hills, but to draw them together in a body to the West; and, accordingly, several of the forces that were in Perthshire and Angus are drawn to Edinburgh, and some of Mackay's regiments are marched that way from him. . . . Some of the French fleet has been seen amongst the islands, and hath taken the Glasgow frigates. The King being thus master of sea and land, hath nothing to do but bring over his army, which many people fancy is landed already in the West. He will have little to oppose him there, and will probably march towards England, so that we who are in the greatest readiness will have [enough] ado to join him. I have received by Mr. Hay a commission of Lieutenant-General, which miscarried by Breidy. I have also received a double of a letter miscarried by Breidy to me, and a new letter, dated the 18th of May; both of which are so kind that I am ashamed to tell. He counts for great services, which I am conscious to myself that I have hardly done my duty. He promises not only to me, but to all that will join, such ranks of favour, as after ages shall see what honour and advantage there is in being loyal. He says, in express terms, that his favours shall vie with our loyalty. He hath, by the same letters, given full power of Council to such Councillors here as shall be joined in the King's service, and given us power, with the rest of his friends, to meet in a Convention, by his authority, to counteract the mock Convention at Edinburgh, whom he hath declared traitors, and com-

manded all his loyal subjects to make war against them, in obedience to which I have called all the Clans. Captain of Clanranald is near us these several days; the Laird of Barra is there with his men. I am persuaded Sir Donald [of Sleat] is there by this. Maclean lands in Morven to-morrow, certain. Appin, Glencoe, Lochiel, Glengarry, Keppoch, are all ready. Sir Alexander [Maclean of Otter] and Largie have been here with their men all this while with me, so that I hope we will go out of Lochaber about three thousand. You may guess what we will get in Stratherrick, Badenoch, Athole, Mar, and the Duke of Gordon's lands, besides the loyal shires of Banff, Aberdeen, Mearns, Angus, Perth, and Stirling. I hope we will be masters of the North, as the King's army will be of the South. I had almost forgot to tell you of my Lord Breadalbane, who, I suppose, will now come to the fields. Dunbeath, with two hundred horse and eight hundred foot, are said to be endeavouring to join us. My Lord Seaforth will be in a few days from Ireland to raise his men for the King's service. Now, I have laid the whole business before you; you will easily know what is fit for you to do. All I shall say further is, to repeat and renew the desire of my former letter, and assure you that I am, Sir your most obedient humble Servant,

(Signed) "DUNDIE."

"You will receive the King's letter to you."

Macleod, however, did not join Dundee at this time in Lochaber, or afterwards at the battle of Killiecrankie, fought on the 27th of July following. Though Macleod did not follow Dundee in 1689, King James continued to hope that he might still join the Royalists, and in May of the following year addressed a letter to him in the following terms:—

"JAMES R.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Our former letters to you show the entire confidence we had in you, and we are glad to find by the resolutions, Sir Donald Macdonald assures us, you had taken of joining our forces when we ourselves or our entirely beloved natural son, the Duke of Berwick, came there, that we were not mistaken in the judgment we made of you. But, considering that our affairs are already so far advanced that our enemies are not in a condition to undertake anything



considerable against us, or hurt any of our friends, especially such as are at that distance that you are from them, we do expect that, having as great security as any other, you should join the rest of the Clans with all the men you can raise, whenever the officer commanding-in-chief our forces shall there require it. This is not a time for any man to make conditions for himself, or consult barely his own private interest, and for our part, as we never did not press any of our subjects to expose themselves in vain, so we shall reckon on no man's loyalty that will run no hazard for the Common Good, when so fair a prospect of success presents itself, with so little danger. We are sure you wish your country and posterity too well not to contribute all you can to its liberty, and if you all unanimously join, we cannot see how you can fail of being the glorious instrument of it, which we wish you may be, and so wish you heartily farewell. Given at our Court, at Dublin Castle, the 29th day of May, 1690, and in the sixth year of our reign."

"To our trusty and well-beloved Macleod."

[Signed with the Royal Seal.]

James despatched several letters to the Highland Chiefs from Ireland during this year, mostly through Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, who had taken the lead among those who determined to hold out in the King's interest. The letter to Macleod was found among the Macdonald papers, and it is supposed Sir Donald knew that it was quite useless to forward it to Macleod. Its imperious tone was not calculated to make a favourable impression on the Chief of a Clan who felt how little its services and terrible its losses at the battle of Worcester, little more than a generation before, had been appreciated or acknowledged after the Restoration. Indeed this strong feeling of disappointment is sufficient to account for the fact that the Macleods never after fought, under their Chief, in any of the Stuart Risings.

In the Appendix to the *Memoir of Norman Macleod, D.D.*, there is a curious, and, in the light of present circumstances, a most interesting reference to a prophecy by a Highland Seer bearing on the position of the Macleods of Dunvegan after the death of this Chief, John Breac Macleod,

and foretelling their future fate as a Highland family. Among various other autobiographical reminiscences, dictated to one of his daughters, by the first famous Dr. Norman Macleod, popularly known by Highlanders all over the world as "Caraide nan Gaidheal," father of the late Dr. Norman, of the Barony, and editor of *Good Words*, we find the following circumstantial account of this remarkable prediction, confirmed by his own testimony, based on personal knowledge and observation, as to its partial fulfilment. The reverend gentleman visited Dunvegan Castle, the residence of his Chief, in the summer of 1799, more than a century after the circumstances which he relates had been foretold by the Highland seer. We give the narrative of what the reverend gentleman knew, saw, and heard, in his own words. He says:—

"One circumstance took place at the Castle on this occasion which I think worth recording, especially as I am the only person now living who can attest the truth of it. There had been a traditional prophecy, couched in Gaelic verse, regarding the family of Macleod, which, on this occasion, received a most extraordinary fulfilment. This prophecy I have heard repeated by several persons, and most deeply do I regret that I did not take a copy of it when I could have got it. The worthy Mr Campbell of Knock, in Mull, had a very beautiful version of it, as also had my father, and so, I think, had likewise Dr Campbell of Kilninver. Such prophecies were current regarding almost all old families in the Highlands; the Argyll family were of the number; and there is a prophecy regarding the Breadalbane family, as yet unfulfilled, which I hope may remain so. The present Marquis of Breadalbane is fully aware of it, as are many of the connections of the family. Of the Macleod family, it was prophesied at least a hundred years prior to the circumstance which I am about to relate.

"In the prophecy to which I allude, it was foretold that when Norman, the Third Norman ('Tormad nan tri Tormaid'), the son of the hard-boned English lady ('Mac na mnatha caoile cruaidh Shassunaich') would perish by an accidental death; that when the 'Maidens' of Macleod (certain well-known rocks on the coast of Macleod's country) became the property of a Campbell; when a fox

had young ones in one of the turrets of the Castle, and particularly when the Fairy enchanted banner should be for the last time exhibited, then the glory of the Macleod family should depart—a great part of the estate should be sold to others; so that a small ‘curragh,’ a boat, would carry all gentlemen of the name of Macleod across Loch Dunvegan; but that in times far distant another John Breac should arise, who should redeem those estates, and raise the powers and honour of the house to a higher pitch than ever. Such in general terms was the prophecy. And now as to the curious coincidence of its fulfilment.

“There, was, at that time, at Dunvegan, an English smith, with whom I became a favourite, and who told me, in solemn secrecy, that the iron chest which contained the ‘Fairy flag’ was to be forced open next morning; that he had arranged with Mr. Hector Macdonald Buchanan to be there with his tools for that purpose. I was most anxious to be present, and I asked permission to that effect of Mr Buchanan (Macleod’s man of business), who granted me leave on condition that I should not inform anyone of the name of Macleod that such was intended, and should keep it a profound secret from the Chief. This I promised and most faithfully acted on. Next morning we proceeded to the chamber in the East Turret, where was the iron chest that contained the famous flag, about which there is an interesting tradition. With great violence the smith tore open the lid of this iron chest; but in doing so, a key was found under part of the covering, which would have opened the chest, had it been found in time. There was an inner case, in which was found the flag, enclosed in a wooden box of strongly-scented wood. The flag consisted of a square piece of very rich silk, with crosses wrought with gold thread, and several elf-spots stitched with great care on different parts of it. On this occasion the melancholy news of the death of the young and promising heir of Macleod reached the Castle. ‘Norman, the third Norman,’ was a lieutenant of H.M.S., the *Queen Charlotte*, which was blown up at sea, and he and the rest perished. At the same time, the rocks called ‘Macleod’s Maidens’ were sold, in the course of that very week, to Angus Campbell of Ensay, and they are still in possession of his grandson. A fox in possession of a Lieutenant Maclean, residing in the West Turret of the Castle, had young ones, which I handled, and thus all that was said in the prophecy alluded to was

so far fulfilled, although I am glad the family of my Chief still enjoy their ancestral possessions, and the worst part of the prophecy accordingly remains unverified. I merely state the facts of the case as they occurred, without expressing any opinion whatever as to the nature of these traditionary legends with which they were connected."

It may here be stated that this curious family prediction has been further verified and fulfilled since the Rev. Dr. Norman's visit in 1799 to the stronghold of the Macleods. At that date the Macleod country, in the Isle of Skye, had a large number of *gentlemen* of the Clan residing in it, scores of whom had distinguished themselves and risen to the highest positions in the army, in the Civil Service of their country, and elsewhere. That this was the case cannot fail to strike the reader who peruses this work, especially the portion of it devoted to an account of the various branches of the Clan, who occupied as proprietors or principal tenants such places as Gesto, Drynoch, Glendale, Talisker, Greshornish, Ulinish, Bernisdale, Orbost, Hamer, Lochbay, Unish, and several others, the names of which are so well-known, far away from the Isle of Skye, in consequence of the prominent positions attained, and the valour displayed, by so many members of the families that occupied them as distinguished officers of the army and in other high places in the service of the nation. But what do we now find where these gentlemen of the Macleods were so numerous and influential even as late as the Rev. Dr. Norman's visit? A literal fulfilment of the family prophecy! The smallest "curragh," or boat, in the island could carry all the gentlemen of the name of Macleod in the Isle of Skye across Loch Dunvegan without the slightest danger to its occupants. In fact, with a single exception, there is not a gentleman of the whole stock, now in the island, outside the residence of the Chief; and the Chief himself only resides for a part of the year in the ancient stronghold of his race. Thus, the Dunvegan Macleod prophecy is in a fair way of being literally fulfilled in every detail. Let us hope that the John Breac, who is to restore the family estates and

“raise the powers and honour of the house to a higher pitch than ever” will soon make his appearance. There is, however, no sign of him as yet; nor do we find his advent being hastened by the present members of the Chief’s family, not one of them, copying the example of their father, having named any of their sons after the most popular head of the house of Dunvegan, and whose namesake, according to this extraordinary prediction, is to do such great things to restore the ancient position and honours of the Macleods.

John married Florence, second daughter of Sir James Macdonald, IX. of Sleat, with issue—

1. Roderick, his heir and successor.
2. Norman, who succeeded his brother Roderick as Chief of the Clan.
3. William, who died at Glasgow, unmarried.
4. Isabel, who married Robert Stewart of Appin.
5. Janet, who married Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck, with issue.

John Breac Macleod died on Wednesday of Easter week,\* in 1693, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

## XVII. RODERICK MACLEOD,

Whose character seems to have realised all the gloomy forebodings of the bards, harpers, and others who had the interests and continued reputation of the family for ancient hospitality and warlike renown at heart. In “Oran Mor Mhic-Leoid,” already quoted, his degeneracy from these high qualities, in this and other respects, are severely animadverted upon by Roderick Morrison, his father’s family harper and bard, many of the verses being of so uncomplimentary a character, and so unsuitable for ears polite, that John Mackenzie did not print them in *The Beauties of Gaelic Poetry*; but after stating that John Breac Macleod, Roderick’s father, was one of the last Chiefs who had in his retinue a bard, a piper, and a fool—all excellently and most liberally provided for, he says that

\* See “*Creach-na-Ciadaín*, 12th stanza, *Beauties of Gaelic Poetry*, p. 21.



“after his death Dunvegan Castle was neglected by his son Roderick, and the services of these functionaries dispensed with to make room for grooms, gamekeepers, factors, dogs, and the various etceteras of a fashionable English establishment. We here beg the reader to note,” he continues, “that we have not said Rory was an English gentleman, but only hinted that he aped the manners of one. Eight stanzas of this song are omitted, as we think their insertion would be an outrage on the reader’s sense of propriety.”\* We have not come across anything which, as a Highland Chief, can be recorded to his credit.

He married, in February, 1694, Lady Isabel Mackenzie, third daughter of Kenneth, third Earl of Seaforth by Isabel, daughter of Sir John Mackenzie of Tarbat, and sister of George, first Earl of Cromarty, with issue—an only daughter, Anne, who, as his first wife, married the famous Donald Macleod of Bernera, with issue, twenty children. Roderick’s widow married, as her second husband, Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, with issue.

Roderick died in August, 1699, without male issue, when he was succeeded by his next brother,

### XVIII. NORMAN MACLEOD.

In 1703, a few years after Norman succeeded, Martin published his *Description of the Western Isles*. Writing of the people of Skye he says that “they are generally a very sagacious people, and even the vulgar exceed all those of

\* Some of the omitted verses, and several in addition, have since been published in the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* for 1886, in a paper contributed by Mr Colin Chisholm. Mackenzie only published thirteen verses, while Mr Chisholm supplies not less than twenty-seven. Mackenzie appends the following note :—“This song was a favourite with Sir Alexander Mackenzie of Gairloch, who paid a person to sing it to him every Christmas night. One of Sir Alexander’s tenants went to him one day to seek a lease of a certain farm. The laird desired him to sit down and sing ‘Oran Mor Mhic-Leoid’ till he should write the document. The tenant remarked that he (Sir Alexander) certainly set great value on that song. ‘Yes,’ was the reply, ‘and I am sorry that every Highland laird has not the same regard for it.’” They might do worse than occasionally peruse it—those of them who can, at the present day.



their rank and education I ever yet saw in any other country. They have a great genius for music and mechanics. I have observed that several of their children, before they could speak, were capable to distinguish and make choice of one tune before another ; for they appeared always uneasy until the tune they fancied best was played, and then they expressed their satisfaction by the motions of their heads and hands. There are several of them who invent tunes very taking in the south of Scotland and elsewhere." He then goes on to say that Lowland musicians tried to palm themselves off in many instances as the authors of these tunes, changing their names and adopting other means of disguise, but in this they usually failed, for, our author continues, "whatever language gives the modern name, the tune still continues to speak its true original." Some of the natives "were very dexterous in engraving trees, birds, dogs, etc., upon bone and horn, or wood, without any other tool than a sharp pointed knife." Both sexes had "a quick vein of poesy," and they composed pieces which "powerfully affect the fancy," and "with as great force as that of any ancient and modern poet" he ever read ; but the "unhappiness of their education, and their want of converse with foreign nations deprive them of the opportunity to cultivate and beautify their genius, which seems to have been formed by nature for great attainments." They were "happily ignorant of many vices that are practised in the learned and polite worlds," of several of which they did not even know the name, or had the slightest knowledge.

The diet of the Highlanders of that day consisted of fresh food, and they seldom tasted anything salted, except butter. They ate but little flesh, only persons of distinction eating it every day and having three meals, the common people eating only two meals a day. "Their ordinary diet is butter, cheese, milk, colworts, brochan, *i.e.*, oatmeal and water boiled. The latter, taken with some bread, is the constant food of several thousands of both sexes in this and other Isles during the winter and spring ; yet they undergo many fatigues both by sea and land, and are very healthful."

There was "no place so well stored with such great quantity of good beef and mutton, where so little is consumed by eating." The people had plenty of exercise and air, preserving "their bodies and minds in a regular frame, free from the various convulsions that ordinarily attend luxury. There is not one of them too corpulent or too meagre" and they took "no fine sauces to entice a false appetite, nor brandy or tea for digestion, the purest water" serving them in such cases.

The same author gives the following interesting account of the dress worn by the inhabitants of the Isles at this period:—The first habit worn by persons of distinction was the leni-croich, from the Irish [Gaelic] leni, which signifies a shirt, and croach saffron, because their shirt was dyed with that herb. The ordinary number of ells used to make this robe was twenty-four. It was the upper garb, reaching below the knees, and was tied with a belt round the middle; but the Islanders have laid it aside about a hundred years ago. They now generally use coat, waistcoat, and breeches, as elsewhere; and on their heads wear bonnets made of thick cloth—some blue, some black, and some grey. Many of the people wear trews. Some have them very fine woven like stockings of those made of cloth. Some are coloured and others striped. The latter are as well shaped as the former, lying close to the body from the middle downwards, and tied round with a belt above the haunches. There is a square piece of cloth which hangs down before. The measure for shaping the trews is a stick of wood, whose length is a cubit, and that divided into the length of a finger and half a finger, so that it requires more skill to make it than the ordinary habit. The shoes anciently worn were a piece of the hide of a deer, cow, or horse, with the hair on, being tied behind and before with a point of leather. The generality now wear shoes, having one thin sole only, and shaped after the right and left foot, so that what is for one foot will not serve the other. But persons of distinction wear the garb in fashion in

the south of Scotland. The plaid wore only by the men is made of fine wool, the thread as fine as can be made of that kind. It consists of divers colours; and there is a great deal of ingenuity required in sorting the colours so as to be agreeable to the nicest fancy. For this reason the women are at great pains, first to give an exact pattern of the plaid upon a piece of wood, having the number of every thread of the stripe on it. The length of it is commonly seven double ells. The one end hangs by the middle over the left arm, the other, going round the body, hangs by the end over the left arm also—the right hand above it is to be at liberty to do anything upon occasion. Every isle differs from each other in their fancy of making plaids as to the stripes in breadth and colours. This humour is as different through the mainland of the Highlands, in so far that they who have seen those places are able at the first view of a man's plaid to guess the place of his residence. When they travel a-foot, the plaid is tied on the breast with a bodkin of bone or wood (just as the spina worn by the Germans, according to the description of C. Tacitus). The plaid is tied round the middle with a leather belt. It is plaited from the belt to the knee very nicely. This dress for footmen is found much easier and lighter than breeches or trews. The ancient dress wore by the women, and which is yet wore by some of the vulgar, called arisad, is a white plaid, having a few small stripes of black, blue, and red. It reached from the neck to the heels, and was tied before on the breast with a buckle of silver or brass, according to the quality of the person. I have seen some of the former of a hundred marks value. It was broad as any ordinary pewter plate, the whole curiously engraved with various animals, etc. There was a lesser buckle, which was wore in the middle of the larger, and above two ounces weight. It had in the centre a large piece of crystal, or some finer stone, and this was set all round with several finer stones of a lesser size. The plaid being plaited all round, was tied with a belt below the breast.

The belt was of leather, and several pieces of silver intermixed with the leather like a chain. The lower end of the belt has a piece of plate about eight inches long and three in breadth, curiously engraven, the end of which was adorned with fine stones or pieces of red coral. The cone sleeves of scarlet cloth, closed at the end as men's vests, with gold lace round them, having plate buttons set with fine stones. The head dress was a fine linen kerchief strait about the head, hanging down the back taper-wise. A large lock of hair hangs down their cheeks above their breast, the lower end tied with a knot of ribbands. The Islanders have a great respect for their Chiefs and heads of tribes, and they conclude grace after every meal with a petition to God for their welfare and prosperity. Neither will they, as far as in them lies, suffer them to sink under any misfortune, but in case of a decay of estate, make a voluntary contribution on their behalf, as a common duty to support the credit of their families.\*

Simon Lord Lovat, in 1699, erected a monument in the church-yard of Kilmuir, Duirinish, to his father, Thomas Fraser of Beaufort, who died at Dunvegan while on a visit to his wife's relations, in May of that year, only three months before the death of Roderick Macleod, XVII. of Macleod. The monument which is of freestone, is still standing, but thirty-five or forty years ago the white marble which contained the inscription fell out and was broken in fragments. The inscription was as follows :—

“This pyramid was erected by Simon Lord Fraser of Lovat in honour of Lord Thomas, his father, a peer of Scotland, and Chief of the great and ancient Clan of the Frasers. Being attacked for his birthright by the family of Athole, then in power and favour with King William, yet, by the valour and fidelity of his clan, and the assistance of the Campbells, the old friends and allies of his family, he defended his birthright with such greatness and firmity of soul, and such valour and activity, that he was an honour to

\* *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*, by Martin Martin, gentleman, pp. 199-210.

his name, and a good pattern to all brave Chiefs of Clans. He died in the month of May, 1699, in the 63rd year of his age, in Dunvegan, the house of the Laird of Macleod, whose sister he had married; by whom he had the above Simon Lord Fraser, and several other children. And, for the great love he bore the family of Macleod, he desired to be buried near his wife's relations, in the place where two of her uncles lay. And his son, Lord Simon, to show to posterity his great affection for his mother's kindred, the brave Macleods, chooses rather to leave his father's bones with them than carry them to his own burial place near Lovat."

About this time there lived in Skye, about two miles south of the village of Portree, a celebrated man known as Aodh or Hugh Macqueen. From his great stature and intellectual superiority, he was known in Gaelic as Aodh *Mor* MacCuinn. He was distinguished for his integrity and sound judgment, and, generally speaking, when any questions of difficulty arose between the tenants and their proprietors, or among themselves, he was always resorted to as arbitrator, when his decisions were usually accepted as final. On one occasion two of Macleod's tenants came to him that he might decide a dispute which had arisen between them. One of them had a cow, which, slipping over a precipice overhanging the sea, fell into the other man's boat, which was moored at the foot of the rock, stove a hole in it, and was itself killed. The owner of the boat claimed damages for the injury to his property, while the owner of the cow denied liability, and pleaded that if the boat had not been there, his cow might not have been killed, for it would have fallen into the sea. Macleod himself, to whom the case was first referred, had some difficulty in deciding it, so he advised them to consult Aodh, to whose house he accompanied them. The dispute being laid fully before the arbiter, he asked whose property the cow was, to which the owner replied that it was his. Aodh then asked whose was the boat, and received a similar reply from the other. "And whose was the rock?" continued Aodh. "Macleod's," was the answer. "Then," said the arbiter, "it appears to me that the accident would not have happened were it not



for the rock, and I therefore decide that Macleod shall pay the owners the price of both the boat and the cow." Macleod, who was better able to pay than either of his tenants, at once complied with Aodh's decision, and paid the loss incurred by each of them.

On another occasion, two men were fishing from a rock near Portree. It was a very stormy day. An extra high wave carried one of the men off his seat into the sea, and the other was only able to reach his drowning companion with his fishing line, the hook of which fixed in his eye. By this means the drowning man was hauled ashore, but he lost the use of his eye in consequence. Happening some time after to quarrel with his deliverer, he demanded damages from him for the loss of his eye. The novel dispute was referred to Aodh, who promptly ruled that on the first occasion on which there was a storm equal to the one during which the accident took place, the pursuer should again go into the sea at the same place, and if he gained the shore without any assistance, his companion, who rescued him, would then be found liable in damages for the loss of the eye. The pursuer did not quite see the propriety of this course, and nothing more was heard of his claim against the man who had saved him from a watery grave.

Macleod married in September, 1703, Anne Fraser, second daughter of Hugh, eleventh Lord Lovat, by Lady Amelia Murray, daughter of John, first Marquis of Athole. She married, secondly, Peter Fotheringham of Powrie, with issue; and, thirdly, John, second Earl of Cromarty, also with issue. By her Norman Macleod had issue—one son, Norman, born after his father's death, and by whom he was succeeded in the estates.

### XIX. NORMAN MACLEOD

Was born in 1706. The estates were managed by his guardians until he came of age, when, in addition to the family heritage, he succeeded to a fortune, accumulated during his minority, of about £60,000. In an *Account*



of the *Highland Clans*, written in 1725, he is described as "a gentleman of the greatest estate of any of our Highland clans," and we are informed, by the same authority, that in Skye, "in which place the most part of his numerous clan reside," "there are a great number of gentlemen of good account" among Macleod's followers.

He was infest in the family estates, as heir to his father and grandfather, in November, 1731, and in May, 1732, when he must have been twenty-five to twenty-six years of age. In 1732 he unsuccessfully contested the County of Inverness for a seat in Parliament against Sir James Grant of Grant. A reference to this contest is found in a letter from Lord Lovat to Ludcvick Grant, about the middle of October of that year, in which his lordship, says, that Lord Islay had declared himself against the two brothers, John and Duncan Forbes, but that the two were resolved to carry Inverness, Ross, and Nairn:—"Ross they think themselves very sure of, and they have hook'd Macleod to get the shire of Inverness by him."\*

A letter from Norman Macleod to the Laird of Culloden, dated at Dunvegan, the 19th of December, 1732, shows that a regular correspondence had been passing between the two, and that they were on the most friendly terms. After stating his intention of making barons who could vote for him in the pending election, and expressing his contempt "for everyone of our shyre that won't on this occasion exert himself," Macleod proceeds—"I won't repeat what I spoke to you last harvest about getting the Custom House of Hornwa (Stornoway), brought to Glenelg; but I tell you that, in spite of me, a great deal of brandy is run over this island and neighbourhood, which I assure you vexes me; and to show my good inclination for the quick sale of Ferintosh, procure in the meantime (which I am informed can be got) a warrant from the Commissioners of the Customs to me and whom I appoint to seize vessels with contraband goods anywhere about Skye or Glenelg; and I'll warrant you an effectual stop shall

\* *The Chiefs of Grant*, Vol. I., p. 377.

be put to that mischievous trade ; and without I can do little." The people to be employed by Macleod, he said, would expect the same rewards for any seizures made by them as were allowed to the regularly appointed commissioned officers of Excise.

Lord Lovat, writing to Culloden ten days later, says that "Duncan (President Forbes) has directed me how to write my answer to my cousin, Macleod, which (advice) I will follow and send you the letter with a flying seal." On the subject of his suit against Mackenzie-Fraser of Fraserdale for restitution of the Lovat estates, then going on, his lordship says, in the same letter, "If my cousin, Macleod, designs to interpose to make use of his interest, I think this is the time." That Lovat thought highly of Norman appears from a letter addressed by his lordship to Culloden, dated, Edinburgh, 30th of January, 1733, in which he says, "My cousin, the Laird of Macleod, is mighty kind in his letter to me ; it is most certainly to you that I owe his good intentions to serve me, and live in great friendship with me ; but he desires that nobody but you and your brother should know it ; otherwise, that it will put him out of condition to serve me, because of the weakness and jealousies of those he has to do with. Macleod," his lordship continues, "is really a sweet-blooded young fellow, and has good sense and writes prettily. I wish with all my soul that this great affair were ended, that we might live in an affectionate and strict friendship together since I am the nearest relation he has of his father and mother's kindreds."\*

In a letter from Simon, Lord Lovat, to Sir James Grant of Grant, on electoral business (postmark, 22nd and 28th May, 1733), the writer, referring to Inverness-shire, says—"McLeod is here ; I saw him, and I am contriving how to perswad him not to meddle, and I do not want hopes to succeed."†

In a letter from Lord Simon to Ludovick Colquhoun of Luss, dated 26th April, 1734, his lordship, after stating

\* *The Culloden Papers*, pp. 129-30. † *Chiefs of Grant*, Vol. II., p. 318.

that he had had a call from Fraser of Achnagairn, Culloden's brother-in-law, humorously says—"As he found my wine better than any he had in Cullochin this year, and that I knew he lov'd his bottle, and ope'nd his breast when erie, I ramm'd down 3 bottles of wine in his belly, which made him open his budget. He told me that he actually disspair'd of Cullochin's recovery, and that McLeod was to be the man against your father, and would beat him out of sight."\*

It would appear that the "cousins" were not only on friendly terms, but even thus early the crafty Lord Simon succeeded in corrupting Macleod by inducing him to join his lordship, Lord Grange, Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat, and others, in abducting and cruelly treating the unfortunate Lady Grange. The origin of this inhuman transaction is sufficiently well known. The principal instruments in carrying it out were John Macleod, advocate, Edinburgh, one of the Macleods of Bernera and Muiravonside, and Macdonald of Morar. The leading facts in connection with the abduction are as follows :—A secret association to promote the interests of the Chevalier existed in Scotland in 1731. Lord Grange, a brother of the Earl of Mar, who had been made a Lord of Session in 1707, became Lord Justice-Clerk in the latter years of Queen Anne's reign, and in 1715 he had aided his brother both by his counsel and his wealth. His house was a frequent rendezvous for the disaffected gentry and nobility; and his wife, who was not privy to the conspiracy, soon became suspicious regarding the object of so many meetings in her house. With natural curiosity, she resolved to find out the secret, and she accomplished her object by hiding herself under a sofa during one of the conferences. She was warmly attached to the ruling family; while her affection for her husband, who always treated her with great harshness, was neither deep nor cordial. A quarrel—no rare occurrence—took place between her ladyship and Lord Grange, when she threatened to be revenged

\* *Chiefs of Grant*, Vol. II., pp. 326-7.

upon him by disclosing his traitorous proceedings against the Government. He was too well acquainted with her violence and resolution to doubt for an instant that she would fulfil her promise ; and, seeing that his own safety and that of all his friends were thus at stake, he called them together for the purpose of devising a remedy against the danger to which they were now exposed.

It was at once agreed by the conspirators that Lady Grange should be locked up ; that a report of her death should be circulated ; and that Macleod of Dunvegan and Macdonald of Sleat should be asked to receive her into their territories, and to place her in some remote secluded spot where she would be no more heard of. The plan was at once carried into execution ; a mock funeral took place ; and the lady was, by an out-of-the-way and devious route, carried off to the West, where she was at first confined in the Castle of Island Tyrim, and afterwards in a small hut on the Macleod estates. Subsequently, when her discovery in Skye was feared, she was sent to the Island of Heiskar, on the West Coast of North Uist, the property of Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat, where she was detained for nearly two years. From there she was removed to the remote Island of St Kilda, where she was kept in captivity for seven years, absolutely unable to hold any communication whatever with the outer world. She was afterwards removed to Assynt, from there back to Uist, and subsequently to Skye.

While in the Isle of Skye a second time, according to *The New Statistical Account* for the Parish of Duirinish, from which are taken the main facts here given, “ she fell on a very ingenious expedient for communicating with her friends. The poor people among whom she lived were accustomed to manufacture their wool into yarn, which they annually sent in large clues to the Inverness market for sale. Lady Grange acquired the art of spinning, and, having possessed herself of writing material, she wrote a letter to one of her relatives, which she secretly enclosed in a clue of her own thread that

was sent to the market along with others. The purchaser of the yarn forwarded the letter to its destination." Her friends were filled with indignation, and instantly applied to the authorities for her liberation. A Government sloop of war was sent to Skye in search of her. Her persecutors, learning this, sent her away to the cave of Idrigill, in Waternish. From there she was again banished to Uist, "the person who had the management of the boat having beside him a rope, with a running noose at one end, and a heavy stone at the other, to fix the noose round the prisoner's neck, and to consign her immediately to the deep, should the sloop of war come in sight during the passage," which was accomplished without such a terrible crime. The lady was kept in Uist for a considerable time, and when all danger disappeared from the Government search, she was again brought back to Waternish, on the Macleod estates; for a time re-immured in the cave of Idrigill; and afterwards allowed to go at large among the people. By this time her reason gave way, and she roamed about among the natives as an idiot, living on the charity of the people, until at length she was overcome with misery and disease, and closed her chequered life at Idrigill, in Waternish, in the month of May, 1745. She was secretly buried in the Churchyard of Trumpan.\*

Extraordinary precautions were taken in connection with her funeral. While her remains were thus secretly buried at Trumpan, a public funeral took place in the Churchyard of Duirinish of a coffin filled with sods, with great formality, accompanied by the usual crowd of people, specially invited on this occasion, attending interments in the Highlands. The grave itself would never thus, it was thought, bear witness against her cruel and inhuman persecutors, among whom, it must be recorded, the Chief of Macleod was one of the principal.

Macleod was at this time preparing for a second Parliamentary election contest for Inverness-shire, in which he was

\* Cameron's *History and Traditions of the Isle of Skye*.



ultimately successful. In a letter from Simon, Lord Lovat, to Ludovick Grant, younger of Grant, dated Beaufort, 11th June, 1739, his lordship says:—"My cousin, the Laird of Macleod, has made me two very kind visits within these three weeks, who never was before in this house in his life. He was very civil and kind, and you may be sure I was nothing behind in kindness and civility. The town of Inverness and country about it will have it that he is setting up to be member of Parliament for this shire next elections, but he did not say a syllable of it to me; but my cousin, Doctor Fraser of Auchnagern, made me strong insinuations how much he desired and thought it our mutual interest that I should be great with his uncle the President, and with the Laird of Macleod. I gave him thanks, and told him that I was sure that what he said had proceeded from his great love and affection towards me, but I took care not to descend to nor enter on any particulars that he mentioned. Macleod told me that he was about farming Kilcoy's house, with his parks and gardens, and that he is to stay some months every year in this country. I own that gave me a suspicion that he has some design; but, if it is so, he has kept it very close from me. He went from this and lay all night at the Chisholm's. They give him already nine sure votes, five in this country and four in the Highlands. The five in this country are the Lairds of Culoden, Macintosh, Inches, Relick, and the Chisholm; and in the Highlands, Sir Alexander Macdonald, the Laird of Glengerry, the Laird of Macinnon, and himself, besides his own new barrons, and the young Laird of Culloden and the young Laird of Chisholm, whom they say are to be made barrons."\*

In 1741 Norman again contested the County of Inverness, with Sir James Grant of Grant, and on this occasion he was successful, and he continued to represent his native county in Parliament for fourteen years, thereafter from 1741 to 1754. He undoubtedly encouraged Prince Charles to come across from France in 1745, though he afterwards,

\* *Chiefs of Grant*, Vol. II., p. 390.



mainly by the influence of Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat, refused to join in the Rising, and ultimately fought on the other side. Miss Macleod of Macleod, Dunvegan Castle, remembers having seen in the family charter-chest an interesting correspondence between His Royal Highness and Macleod, in which Norman invited the Prince "to come over several months before he arrived," but the letters have since disappeared, and the family knows nothing as to where they have gone to. Keeping this correspondence in mind, it is not surprising that Macleod, who was in the confidence of the Prince, should have been able to convey the earliest intelligence of his arrival in the Western Isles to the representatives of the Government. Immediately after landing at Lochnanuagh His Royal Highness sent young Clanranald, and Allan Macdonald, brother of Kinloch-Moidart, to request Macleod and Macdonald of Sleat to join him with their followers. They found both Chiefs at Dunvegan Castle. Macleod excused himself from joining on the ground that the Prince did not bring along with him the auxiliaries which he led the island Chiefs to believe would have accompanied him from France. Norman was not, however, satisfied with this breach of faith and his refusal to join the Prince. Immediately on the departure of the messengers he forwarded the following letter, printed in *The Culloden Papers*, to Duncan Forbes of Culloden, Lord President of the Court of Session, which was, as already stated, the first intimation which the Government received of the arrival of Prince Charles in the Highlands—

My dearest Lord,—To my no small surprise, it is certain that the pretended Prince of Wales is come into the coast of South Uist and Barra, and has since been hovering on parts of the coast of the Mainland; that is, between the point of Ardnamurchan and Glenelg. He has but one ship of which he is aboard; she mounts about 16 or 18 guns. He has about thirty Irish or French officers with him, and one Sheridan, who is called his governor. The Duke of Athole's brother is the only man of any sort of note (that once belonged to this country) that I can hear of

that is along with him. His view, I need not tell you, was to raise the Highlands to assist him, etc. Sir Alex. Macdonald and I not only gave no sort of countenance to these people, but we used all the interest we had with our neighbours to follow the same prudent method ; and I am persuaded we have done it with such success, that not one man of any consequence north of the Grampians will give any sort of assistance to this mad rebellious attempt. How far you think we acted properly, I shall long to know ; but this is certain, we did it as our duty and for the best, for in the present situation of affairs in Europe, I should have been sorry to see anything like disaffection to the Government appear, though ever so trivial ; or that there was occasion to march a single company to quell it, which now I hope and daresay there is not.

As it can be of no use to the public to know whence you have this information, it is, I fancy, needless to mention either of us, but this we leave in your own breast, as you are a much better judge of what is or is not proper to be done. I have written to no one else ; and as our friendship and confidence in you is without reserve, so we doubt not of your supplying our defects properly. Sir Alex. is here, and has seen this scrawl.—I ever am, most faithfully yours,

(Signed) NORMAND MACLEOD.

Dunvegan, 3rd August, 1745.

The Lord President, etc.

P.S.—Last night I had the pleasure of yours of the 25th. A thousand thanks for your advice ; but I am in good health by the very means you mention, moderate exercise and regularity, without starving. Young Clanranald has been here with us, and has given us all possible assurances of his prudence, etc.

Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat followed this letter from Macleod by one from himself, dated at Talisker, eight days later, on the 11th of August, in which he refers to the foregoing letter from Macleod, and concludes by declaring—"I pledge Macleod in writing for him and myself;" that is, to the Government. In a letter from Alexander Brodie, Lyon-King-at-Arms, to Ludovick Grant, younger of Grant, dated "Fort-George, Thursday, after

dinner," (indorsed 15th August, 1745) the writer says—"Lord Lovat is this day at Culloden, and is to assist us. Seaforth is to be there to-morrow, and will do the same, as will Macleod."\* On the 19th of the same month the Lord President answered Sir Alexander's letter, saying that his own and Macleod's conduct gave him "very great satisfaction." And so it should, for it saved the Hanoverian dynasty. On the 17th of August, Macleod writes to the Lord President a letter from Sconsar, in which he acknowledges receipt, at that place, of the reply from President Forbes to his former letter, while on his way "armless and alone, to prevent his people in Glenelg from being prevailed upon by their neighbours, the Macdonalds of Knoydart, to join the Prince." He then details the number of arms, officers, and men that His Royal Highness has along with him, and intimates that the Prince is to raise his standard at Glenfinnan on the following Monday, "and," Macleod says, "as I am pretty sure of information from thence you shall know it." He knew "from Lord Lovat's forwardness to serve the Government" that he would not join in the Rising, though he afterwards lost his head for doing so. "Sir Alexa. Macdonald and I," he continues, "can easily raise from 1500 to 2000 men for the King's service if they are wanted; and I am sure we are willing; but then some of our ships would require to land that number of arms here; else 1800 staves, with about 200 guns and swords would make but a foolish figure." In a letter from John Grant, factor for Urquhart, to Ludovick Grant of Grant, dated 12th September, 1745, the factor mentioned the preparations made by Lord Lovat, the Chisholm, and other Chiefs, for joining Prince Charles, and stated that the Highland army had intercepted a letter from Sir Alexander Macdonald, in which the latter declared his resolution to adhere to the Government, and that, when this letter came to Prince Charles' hands, he was displeased, and said publicly that he did not expect such duplicity, Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod having been among

\* *The Chiefs of Grant*, Vol. II., p. 145.

the first in Scotland to advise his coming, as their letters would show.\*

Notwithstanding the position taken up by their Chief, many of Macleod's men, who were indignant at his conduct, joined Prince Charles and proffered their services, some of their leaders offering to return to Skye and raise as many of the Clan as they could. Macleod of Swordale undertook to take the fort of Bernera, in Glenelg, and to raise a hundred men, but the influence of his Chief proved too strong for him, and he did not succeed in either undertaking.

There is no doubt that Macleod's conduct was at first largely governed by Lord Lovat, as well as by Sir Alexander Macdonald. On the 7th of October, 1745, Lovat writes to the Lord President, inclosing "a letter from my dear cousin, and your real friend, the Laird of Macleod," and on the same day President Forbes acknowledges receipt, saying "that both letters breathe what I should expect to meet with from both, stark love and kindness," and using other expressions which go to prove that he and Macleod were on very friendly and confidential terms.

After the victory of the Highland army at Prestonpans, the Prince, on the 24th of September, sent Alexander Macleod of Muiravonside to Skye to urge upon Norman and Sir Alexander to join him, with their clansmen, and to inform them that their previous conduct would be imputed, not to any disloyalty, but to the private manner in which he came to Scotland, without any of the promised aid in men and money which they expected from France. Sir Alexander again refused to move, but it appears that Macleod wavered under the argumentative eloquence and solicitations of his relative, and, while on a visit shortly afterwards to Lord Lovat, he agreed to meet the Frasers, under the Master of Lovat, at Corryarrick on the 15th of October, at the head of his men. On Norman's return to Skye, he was, however, prevailed upon by Sir Alexander

\* *The Chiefs of Grant*, Vol. I., p. 404, and Vol. II., p. 156.

Macdonald to remain at home. It would appear that Macleod was taking lessons in duplicity from Simon, whose son, the Master, his Lordship craftily resolved, should join the Prince, while the old fox himself should still pretend to be loyal to the Government. From the following letter it will be seen that Lovat not only advised Macleod to follow this example, but that young Macleod, at the head of his clansmen, had actually gone as far on his way as Beaufort to join Prince Charles. Macleod writes to the Lord-President, from Dunvegan, on the 23rd of October, 1745, a letter, in which he says—

“By the end of next week Talisker, who has just got a son, will be ready to move, and I will by that time have a body of 300 men so disposed here that they can move on a day's notice. Sir Alexander has sent to Uist for his Captain, and I am very hopeful he will be ready as soon as Talisker, or very quickly after. The behaviour of my son's men vexes me to the soul; they were entering an outhouse of Lovat's and sent to the Master's rendezvous. Sandy Macleod [of Muiravonside] is still here, waiting to see his uncle [Donald Macleod of Bernera] from Harris; he has made some attempts to raise rebellion against the knight and me here, but with very bad success.”

Only a week before the date of this letter, Lovat wrote to the President, intimating that his son, the Master of Lovat, marched at the head of his men to join the Prince, and it would have been seen that Macleod was with Lovat on the 15th, only two days previously, and that between that date and the 23rd of the same month, young Macleod had reached Lovat's country, on his way to the “Master's rendezvous” on the march to join the Highland army under Prince Charles. Whether or not young Macleod joined the Frasers, with his men, we have not ascertained, but they do not appear to have joined the Highlanders.

President Forbes, on the 24th of October, 1745, wrote to Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat, urging that either he or Macleod of Macleod should march forthwith, at the head of the largest body of men that they could



get together, to the town of Inverness, while the other should remain in the island "to give the people directions, and to keep the proper countenance in that country."

In a letter from John Grant, factor for Urquhart, to Ludovick Grant of Grant, dated four days later, on 28th of the same month, the writer says that Lord Lovat had assured "Dell" that Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod would not join the Prince, and Dell told him that Lord Lovat had sworn revenge against Macleod, saying he was but a perjured villain, as he swore, when last at Castle Dounie, that he would be there in a few days with all his men, to march with the Master of Lovat to join the Highland army.\*

The people were very unwilling to join their Chiefs to fight against Prince Charles; and it is well known had they been told before they left home that they were going in support of the Hanoverian dynasty, and against the Stuarts, they would never have left Skye. Even after their arrival in the South they expressed their decided unwillingness to fight against the Prince, and there is no doubt that they only did so in a very half-hearted manner. Donald Macleod of Bernera refused to follow his Chief. Being requested to join him at Dunvegan, with his followers, he promptly replied, "I place at your disposal the twenty men of your tribe who are under my immediate command, and in any other quarrel would not fail to be at their head, but in the present I must go where a higher and more imperious duty calls me." He then joined Prince Charles and fought manfully against his Chief.

President Forbes, writing to Mr. (afterwards Sir Andrew) Mitchell on the 13th of November, 1745, says, that he found himself "almost alone, without troops, without arms, without money or credit; provided with no means to prevent extreme folly, except pen and ink, a tongue and some reputation; and if you will except Macleod, whom I sent for from the Isle of Skye, supported by nobody

\* *The Chiefs of Grant*, Vol. I., p. 413, and Vol. II., p. 181.



of common sense or courage." Macleod had been with the President for some time before the date of this letter; for we find the latter writing to Sir John Cope, from Culloden, on the 12th of September, a letter in which he says—"Monday night Captain Sutherland, with 54 men and Tuesday night Captain Macleod, with his company complete, arrived at Inverness," and he continues—"I have great assistance at present from Macleod, who at my desire came from the Isle of Skye, alongst with his son" (who commanded the Macleod company), "and is now my fellow labourer." It would appear that the son and his men were not very robust in their loyalty, for, six weeks after the date of this letter, we find Macleod, on the 23rd of October, during a visit to Dunvegan, writing a letter in which he said—"The behaviour of my son's men vexes me to the soul. They were entering an outhouse of Lovat's, and sent to the Master's rendezvous." The Master, it will be remembered, was at this time on his way to Corryarrick, at the head of the Frasers, to join Prince Charles. Young Macleod seems, however, to have reconsidered his position, and to have followed the advice of his father by adhering to the Government.

The Lord President and the Earl of Loudon, writing to General Wade, at this time commanding in the North, on the 16th of November, 1745, says that 160 Mackenzies, seduced by the Earl of Cromarty, marched in the beginning of the week up the north side of Loch-Ness, depending upon being followed by five or six hundred Frasers, under the Master of Lovat. The Mackenzies had not then, however, passed the mountains; the Frasers had not left their own country; and their Lordships had hopes they would not do so, for at the time there were seven hundred Highlanders in pay at Inverness, and they looked hourly for more, with whom they were going to endeavour to persuade the Frasers to stay at home. "Last Friday," the writer of the letter continues, "Macleod with 400 of his kindred, joined us; which gives us hopes that we shall prevent the march of the Frasers, who are not yet

gone." From this it will appear that it was on the 15th of November that the four Macleod companies mustered at Inverness, and that their officers received their commissions. The Captains who commanded the several companies were—John Macleod, younger of Macleod; Norman Macleod, of Waterstein; Norman Macleod, of Bernera; and Donald Macdonald. The Lieutenants were—Alexander Macleod, Donald Macleod, John Campbell, and William Macleod; and the Ensigns, John MacCaskill, John Macleod, another John Macleod, and Donald Macleod.

The four companies from Skye were joined by a company of one hundred men raised in Assynt by Captain Macleod of Geanies, and on the 10th of December they marched towards Elgin, under command of Norman Macleod of Macleod, to oppose Lewis Gordon's operations in the counties of Banff and Aberdeen. On the 13th, the President writes to Macleod at Elgin, informing him "that Lord Lovat is come into town (Inverness) after abundance of shillie shallie stuff," and that "he has at last agreed that all the arms belonging to his people shall be carried into Inverness by Sunday night." This undertaking by Lovat, whether, as the President says, it be "jest or earnest," detained Lord Loudon from proceeding to the east to support Macleod, but Munro of Culcairn's and William Mackintosh's companies were sent after him, so as to enable him to redeem engagements entered into by the Lord President and those in superior command, with the Duke of Gordon and others in Banffshire. On the same day President Forbes wrote Macleod a second letter, in which he says—"As zeal for his Majesty's service, and for the support of our happy Constitution, is the sole motive of your march, with so many of your kinsmen, to a country so distant from your own, I presume you will not scruple to take directions from me, who, though I have no military command or authority, am actuated by the same principles that direct you." The first object of the expedition was, he said, to be "to deliver the Duke

of Gordon's vassals and tenants and their neighbours in Banffshire from the oppression of the rebels, in the illegal and treasonable levies of men and money which they presume by force to make."

On the 14th December, Macleod wrote to Ludovick Grant of Grant from Elgin:—"It was no small joy to me to see your letter of this evening to Sir Harry [Innes of Innes]. I cannot doubt but your march with so considerable a body of men will protect your friends in Banffshire, but also be of great avail for his Majesty's service at this time. I was ordered to march Monday with 500 men that are here to attempt to pass Spey, in order to assist in protecting all these places, and to dissipate any body of rebels that might be assembled in those parts. I hear the passage is to be disputed, and they have gone so far as to gather all the boats at Bog to the east side, and plant a guard on them. I am persuaded your moving that way will disperse them, and open that passage, which otherwise might be hazardous. I have on that account ordered my march for to-morrow morning to Spey-side to attempt it, and will most cheerfully act in conjunction with you in everything thought proper for the good of the country and his Majesty's service. All other matters I must refer to Sir Harry, who knows all my views and orders." In a letter, indorsed two days later, from Sir Harry Innes, at Gordon Castle, to Grant, the writer says that Grantsfield and he were greatly surprised to see Macleod's men passing Spey when they themselves were about a mile and a half from the boat. Had Grant's men marched down, he says, the party guarding the boats might all have been made prisoners, if they had not got off by speed of foot. In a postscript he adds that Macleod in the meantime wished to consort with Grant for their mutual, and for the public, safety. On 17th December Macleod wrote again to Ludovick Grant, a letter in which he says that he had written Culcairn to join Grant at Keith early next morning. He was quite convinced that, after that junction, or even without it, no party of rebels at Strath-

bogie dare look them in the face. He intended to go to Banff next day, thence to Turriff, and to Old Meldrum on the third day, when Grant was to march from Strathbogie to Kintore and Inverury, so that they would then be within three miles of each other, "which is near enough for the convenience of quarters and to join in an hour." These marches he thought would secure all Banffshire and part of Aberdeenshire "from further insults and oppressions from the rebels," and they could in the interim have certain information of the latter's strength at Aberdeen, and also orders from Lord Loudon whether to proceed there or not. Towards the end of the letter he says—"I with my soul wish you all well, and drink your healths and unbounded success."\*

On the same day President Forbes wrote Macleod saying—"The complaints of the City and County of Aberdeen of the oppression they suffer from the rebels are so clamorous, and the injury they suffer so violent, that it is no longer possible to endure them. You are, therefore, without loss of time, unless some accident insuperable detain you, to march alongst with Captain Munro of Culcairn and the company under his command, to Aberdeen, to secure that City and its neighbourhood from the hardships it has already felt, and is further threatened with." The Lord President wrote also on the same date to James Morison, ex-Lord Provost of Aberdeen, intimating that "the Laird of Macleod goes a volunteer, at the head of a considerable body of his own kindred, to deliver you from harm." On the 19th of December, Macleod wrote Grant expressing his regret that the latter was not to join him at Inverury, on the expedition to Aberdeen, but was to return to Keith. "However," he says, "you know best what is proper for you to do, and what Loudon has wrote you, but I own I am sorry we do not move together, because I think the lads of both clans must have been in high spirits."† In this expedition the Chief of Dunvegan had seven companies under his command. He

\* *The Chiefs of Grant*, Vol. II., pp. 193, 197, 199. † *Ibid.*, Vol. II., p. 200.

seems, however, not only to have failed in his object, but to have secured no laurels of any kind for himself and his followers during the expedition.

At Inverury Macleod was met on the 23rd October, and narrowly escaped being taken by surprise after dark by a superior force, under Lord Lewis Gordon. He managed to get his men hurriedly under arms, and to take possession of a few points of vantage in the town, where he made a brief stand, but after a short skirmish, in which he lost about forty men, most of whom were taken prisoners, he made a hasty retreat across the Spey, on to Elgin and Forres, where many of the men, who had no sympathy whatever with the cause in which they were engaged, deserted their Chief and went back to Skye as fast as their feet could carry them. He, however, managed to muster the remainder of his followers, and remained in Forres until after Prince Charles had marched from Stirling. Macleod was then ordered to Inverness, where he was joined by two companies of Sir Alexander Macdonald's men, under Captain James Macdonald of Airds, Troternish, Skye, and Captain John Macdonald of Kirkibost, North Uist, the whole island body forming part of a force of about two thousand men, under the supreme command of the Earl of Loudon.

At Inverness Macleod received a letter from Lord Lewis Gordon in reply to inquiries which he had made of his Lordship regarding the prisoners taken by the latter at Inverury. In the course of this letter, dated "Aberdeen, December 27th, 1745," Lord Gordon says—"I received your letter by express last night, dated from Gordon Castle, the 24th. All the care in our power has and shall be taken of your wounded men; and all the prisoners that were taken under their arms shall meet with all the civility in our power. I shall take care to order supplies to be given to all the prisoners who want them, and the wounded men are as well taken care of as our own. I shall send you a list of the prisoners and wounded, with any useless papers and letters, as soon as possible; and any other thing we

can reasonably agree to, shall be done with pleasure." In a letter from John Grant to Ludovick Grant of Grant, dated 3rd February, 1746, the writer says:—"Macleod of Talisker is come to Inverness, with one hundred and fifty of Macleod's deserters, and Norman Macleod of Bernera is on the road with more."\* This would be after their defeat at Inverury.

The next expedition in which we find Macleod of Macleod engaged is in that ludicrous scare known as the "Rout of Moy," in which Lord Loudon, who commanded, and his followers, among whom were the Macleods and their Chief, cut such a sorry figure. The following is the best version of the facts known to us:—"On the 16th of February, Prince Charles arrived at Moy Hall, the seat of the Mackintosh, who himself was away from home fighting for the Government. His lady was, however, a strong Jacobite, and, in the absence of her husband, she raised the Clan to join the Prince, under Alexander Macgillivray of Dunmaglass, who led them to Perth. He afterwards joined Prince Charles, on his return from England, and was there appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the battalion, then raised from five to eight hundred by the addition to it of three hundred Farquharsons. They afterwards, on the 17th of January, 1746, took part in the battle of Falkirk, after which the Prince and his whole army retired to the North, arriving, as already stated, at Moyhall, on Sunday, the 16th February, within twelve miles of Inverness, where Lord Loudon was stationed at the head of some two thousand Government troops. The Commander at Inverness soon learnt that the Prince was in his vicinity, and determined to take him dead or alive. For this purpose he placed a cordon of sentinels round the town to prevent anyone getting out of it to give the alarm at Moyhall, and on Sunday evening he marched out for that place at the head of fifteen hundred men, the advance guard commanded by Norman Macleod of Macleod. Notwithstanding Loudon's

\* *The Chiefs of Grant*, Vol II., p. 220.



sentinels, messengers were dispatched from Inverness to Moyhall in advance of Loudon's troops intimating the danger of the Prince. Mrs. Mackintosh, on the arrival of his Royal Highness at her house, had sent out five or six men, under Donald Fraser, the smith of Moy, to watch the road from Inverness, which crossed the Nairn at the Bridge of Faillie. About midnight the blacksmith and his scouts discovered the approach of troops—Loudon's advanced guard—under Macleod, who, according to the *Jacobite Memoirs*, had been for some time "lying in a hollow, not knowing what to do by reason of the flashes of lightning from the heavens that confounded all their designs." On perceiving them, the blacksmith, with great presence of mind, drew back his men to a pass near Creag-an-Eoin, and after instructing them as to how they were to act, posted them on each side of the road, and then coolly awaited the approach of Loudon's army. There were a number of peat stacks about, and the enemy's forces are supposed to have mistaken them in the dark for bodies of men. As soon as the first of Loudon's army came in sight, Fraser fired his piece amongst them, his companions making a great noise, and running from place to place in different directions, following his example. The smith at the same time was, at the height of his voice, ordering imaginary Macdonalds and Camerons to advance on the right and on the left, and to give no quarter to the enemy, who wanted to murder their lawful prince, thus leading Loudon's followers to think that they were confronted by a large body of the Prince's army. Macleod's famous piper, Donald Bàn MacCrimmon, was killed by the blacksmith's first shot, standing close to the side of his Chief. The Government troops, thinking they had a whole army in front of them, made a hasty retreat to Inverness, the Macleods carrying the piper's body, who was the only person killed, all the way to the Highland Capital, where he is said to have been buried. The author of *The History of Clanchattan* says that "the advanced guard, already dazzled by the lightning, fell into a panic, and rushed back

on their main body, throwing that also into confusion. None doubted that the whole Jacobite force was upon them; and the entire army, inspired by an indescribable terror, turned their faces towards Inverness, and made their way to a place of safety with all the speed of which they were capable." Home, in his *History of the Rebellion*, says:—"The panic, fear, and flight continued till they got near Inverness, without being in any danger but that of being trampled to death, which many of them, when they were lying upon the ground and trod upon by such numbers, thought they could not possibly escape." The Master of Ross, who was present, and from whom Home got his account of the rout, said "he had been in many perils, but had never found himself in a condition so grievous as that in which he was at the Rout of Moy." The Prince, in the meantime, on learning his danger, was up and out of bed at an early hour on Monday morning, and, after dressing hurriedly and seeing his brave hostess in the court-yard, was conducted to Moybeg, where the Camerons of Lochiel were encamped. With them he had resolved to make a stand in the event of his being attacked. Shortly after his arrival, however, a messenger reached him conveying the gratifying intelligence of the blacksmith's extraordinary victory, whereupon the Prince at once returned to Moyhall, and almost immediately with his force, now greatly augmented, marched upon Inverness, which he entered, at the head of his troops, on the 18th of February. Loudon, thinking the whole of the Highland army was at his heels, and believing that, in his retreat, he was only saved from annihilation by the darkness of the night, did not remain at Inverness for a moment, but left Kessock Ferry behind him as quickly as he could get his troops across it on the 17th and 18th, pursued by a considerable force under the Earl of Cromarty. He was afterwards followed into Sutherlandshire and his forces broken up, after which Loudon himself made for the sea coast. He then took passage with Macleod and his followers to Skye, where, at Dunvegan, he

and Lord President Forbes remained in safe quarters until after the battle of Culloden.

Donald Bàn MacCrimmon, killed at the Rout of Moy, was reputed the best piper of his day in the Highlands. The author of *The History and Traditions of the Isle of Skye* says that when leaving Dunvegan on that occasion Donald had a presentiment that he would never return, and it was then that he composed that plaintive air, ‘Cha till mi tuilleadh,’ or MacCrimmon’s Lament, which he played on the pipes as the Independent Companies of the Macleods were leaving Dunvegan Castle, and while their wives and sweethearts were waving a sorrowful farewell to them. To this air MacCrimmon composed a feeling Gaelic song, the sentiments in which are brought out in the English imitation by Sir Walter Scott, which is in the following terms :—

“ Macleod’s wizard flag from the grey castle sallies,  
The rowers are seated, unmoored are the galleys ;  
Gleam war-axe and broadsword, clang target and quiver,  
As MacCrimmon plays ‘Farewell to Dunvegan for ever !’

“ Farewell to each cliff, on which breakers are foaming,  
Farewell each dark glen in which red-deer are roaming,  
Farewell, lonely Skye, to lake, mountain, and river,  
Macleod may return, but MacCrimmon shall never.

“ Farewell the bright clouds that on Culen are sleeping,  
Farewell the bright eyes in the fort that are weeping ;  
To each minstrel delusion farewell ! and for ever—  
MacCrimmon departs to return to you never.

“ The Banshee’s wild voice sings the death-dirge before me,  
And the pall of the dead for a mantle hangs o’er me ;  
But my heart shall not fly, and my nerve shall not quiver,  
Though devoted I go—to return again, never !

“ Too oft shall the note of MacCrimmon’s bewailing  
Be heard when the Gael on their exile are sailing ;  
Dear land ! to the shores whence unwilling we sever ;  
Return, return, return, we shall never !

MacCrimmon had a sweetheart at Dunvegan, who, on hearing him play his “Lament,” is said to have composed a touching song in response, which was first published in

Mackay's work on pipe music, and afterwards in *Cuairtear nan Gleann*. It is as follows:—

Dh' iadh ceo nan stuc mu aodann Chuilinn,  
Is sheinn a' bhean-shith a torman mulaid,  
Tha suilean gorm ciuin 's an Dun a' sileadh  
O'n thriall thu bhuainn 's nach till thu tuilleadh.

Cha till, cha till, cha till MacCruimein,  
An cogadh no sith cha till e tuilleadh,  
Le airgiod no ni cha till MacCruimein ;  
Cha till gu brath gu la na cruinne.

Tha osag nan gleann gu fann ag imeachd ;  
Gach sruthan 's gach allt gu mall le bruthach ;  
Tha ialt' nan speur feadh gheugan dubhach,  
A' caoidh gun d' fhalbh 's nach till thu tuilleadh.  
Cha till, cha till, etc.

Tha'n fhairge fadheoidh lan broin is mulaid,  
Tha 'm bata fo sheol, ach dhiult i siubhal ;  
Tha gair nan tonn le fuaim neo-shubhach,  
Ag radh gun d' fhalbh 's nach till thu tuilleadh.  
Cha till, cha till, etc.

Cha chluinnear do cheol 's an Dun mu fheasgar,  
'S mac-talla nam mur le muirn 'g a fhreagairt ;  
Gach fleasgach is oigh, gun cheol, gun bheadradh,  
O'n thriall thu bhuainn 's nach till thu tuilleadh.

Cha till, cha till, cha till MacCruimein,  
An cogadh no sith cha till e tuilleadh,  
Le airgiod no ni cha till MacCruimein ;  
Cha till gu brath gu la na cruinne.

Norman Macleod and the Lord President always continued on the most friendly terms ; and we find them repeatedly referring to each other in letters to their friends in London. The Lord Lyon, Alexander Brodie of Brodie, whose only daughter afterwards married Macleod's eldest son, writing to President Forbes from London, on the 1st of July, 1746, discloses the fact that Macleod was against the Act which made it penal for a Highlander to wear his native dress. In this letter the Lord Lyon states, after having consulted the Duke of Newcastle and the Chancellor, that the Government did not propose to bring in any bills relative to Scotland during that session, "except the Meeting-house Bill, and that for Discharging

the Highland dress"; which, he says, was to be brought into the House of Commons in a day or two. "For my own part," Brodie continues, "I am yet, in my private opinion, for the Bill, not being convinced against it; but as I understand that your Lordship and my friend Macleod were against it, I have objected to it, and asked the Duke of H—— what crimes had the Campbells, Sutherlands, Macleods, Munros, Mackays, etc., been guilty of, that they should be punished by the Legislature, whilst they were in arms for the Government? which did puzzle; and was answered, the Whig clans might be excepted, which, I said, would not do; the thing must be general or could have no effect." It also appears from the same letter that Lord Stair "opposes the Dress Bill," but, as every one knows, the obnoxious measure was ultimately passed into law.

In a letter from Lachlan Grant, writer in Edinburgh, to Ludovick Grant of Grant, dated 10th July, 1746, the writer says—"I see Macleod is come to town dressed in his Highland clothes. I suppose he will be an exception, for his late good services, from the Acts now depending."\*

On the 18th of December following, Macleod writes to the Lord President requesting his influence in favour of the appointment of the Rev. Neil Macleod as minister of Laggan. "You may remember," he writes, "he was of the Church Militant, and attended me in my expedition eastward, and stayed with the men constantly till they were sent home, and preached sound doctrine, and really was zealous and serviceable. The Duke (of Gordon) agrees that anyone you recommend have his interest; and as Mr. Clark is gone to Hornway, I hope you will recommend Mr. Neil; and writing to Mr. Gordon, the Curator, will be sufficient and what the Duke desires. The Curator likewise told me he would be very willing to serve him on my account." In the same letter Macleod refers to Simon, Lord Lovat, then a prisoner in London. He says—"I saw unhappy Lovat to-day. Except for the feeble-

\* *The Chiefs of Grant*, Vol. II. p. 263.

ness of his limbs, his looks are good. He asked me several questions, and particularly about you ; said he was resigned and ready to meet his fate, since it was God's will ; asked after his children, etc. I did not stay till he was dismissed from the bar of the House of Peers ; so I know not what they have done with the petition he was to present ; nor if a day is appointed for his trial." On the 13th January, 1747, Macleod writes a long letter to the President about his old friend, Lovat, who was that day again brought to the bar of the House of Lords to answer the articles of impeachment exhibited against him, which the old man did by a denial that "seemed to be well drawn up and properly worded." Sir Arthur Forbes, writing President Forbes on the 9th April following, says—"It's astonishing with what resolution and *sang froid* Lovat died to-day !" Having referred to the manner and incidents of his death, and his excellent spirits on that and the preceding day, Sir Arthur adds in a postscript—"Though Macleod could write you many more things (at least as I suppose), he desires to be excused till Saturday." In a letter from Brodie to Forbes, dated on the 11th, two days later, he says—"As Sir Arthur and Macleod write you so frequently the occurrences here, I need not trouble you with a repetition of them, especially as, since Tuesday last, there has nothing remarkable happened, except Lovat's dying with courage and decency, forgiving all mankind. He, I am told, blamed your lordship and Macleod for somewhat," and said that Fraser of Gorthlick was a pupil and a spy of the Lord President's and Macleod's.

It will be remembered that Macleod of Macleod was a member of Parliament during these years—from 1741 to 1754—for the county of Inverness. He mixed with the leading men of his time, and became extravagant in his habits, gambled, and finally spent the splendid fortune of about £60,000 which he inherited on his coming of age, along with the ancient family inheritance, quite unimpaired and entirely free of debt. And it is largely in consequence of his great extravagance—for he died £50,000 in debt—



that his successors had to part with the most valuable portions of the estates, including Glenelg, Harris, and Glendale.

Norman Macleod was on the most intimate terms with the famous Rob Roy Macgregor, and it is curious that the Chief's portrait, painted by Allan Ramsay, preserved in Dunvegan Castle, is set off, dressed in Rob Roy tartan. In this connection the following story is told—Macleod on a certain occasion wanted some money brought from Inverness to Dunvegan. He requested one of his most trusted servants to go for it. The man was afraid that he might be met by Macgregor, who was then known to be prowling about in the hills on the mainland, between Skye and Inverness. Though the regular institution of a fool in the family retinue had long been given up by the Macleods, one was at this time among the hangers-on about the castle, and the servant who had been asked to proceed to Inverness took the fool into his confidence. He expressed his fear of meeting the famous outlaw on his way to or from the Highland Capital, and he was afraid lest he might rob him of the money, and perhaps get killed himself in protecting and defending his master's property. The fool only laughed at the man's fears, and, without stating the reason why, he went straight to Macleod, and offered to go for the money himself. To this, knowing that he was not such a fool as some people took him to be, his master at once agreed.

While on his way, but still some distance from Inverness, the fool, on the steep side of a hill met a man who very politely asked him where he came from and where he was going to. Being promptly informed of his destination, the stranger asked him what he was going to do in Inverness. He was going for money for his master, Macleod. "Your master must be very rich," says the stranger. "Pretty well," replied the fool. "How much money are you to take home?" "Oh, may be a thousand pounds," was the proud reply. "Be sure you take care of it," said the stranger. "I hope we shall meet again."

"I hope so, too," replied the fool. He then went on his way to Inverness, got the money; and on his return journey sat down to rest near the spot where he had met the strange man while on his way to Inverness a few days before, a little higher up in the face of the hill, above the path. Presently who should he observe coming along, riding on a beautiful steed, but his old friend, who at once called out to him, from the path below, that he was very glad to see him, and desiring to know if he had succeeded in doing his master's business in Inverness in a satisfactory manner. "Oh, yes, sir," replied the fool, in the most respectful tones; for he thought, from the magnificence of the horse and the style of his accoutrements, that its owner must be a great and important personage. "I hope," the stranger answered, "you have the thousand pounds all safe, for you must give it to me." The messenger was taken aback, but replied, "I can't give you my master's money." "Oh, but you must," answered the other, "I am Rob Roy." "I can't," insisted the fool, who had now got into an excited state of terror, "it would be ruin to me." "I'll shoot you dead if you don't," said Macgregor, with great and determined emphasis. "Oh, have mercy, have mercy, I'm only a poor fool." "Give me the money," imperatively cried Rob Roy. "Well, if I must—rather than death," gasped the other, and taking a parcel from his breast, he threw it past Rob Roy. The parcel rolled down the hill-side. Macgregor jumped off his horse, and ran after the supposed treasure to the bottom of the hill. In a moment the fool was in Rob Roy's saddle, driving the horse away as fast as he could run, now quite at ease and happy in his mind; for the treasure he threw away contained only a pair of stockings, while Macleod's thousand pounds were still perfectly safe in his breast; and Rob Roy was left helpless to muse upon the clever stratagem by which the Dunvegan fool had outwitted him.

As the rider approached the Castle, he was noticed by the "Fear-Faire"—the watchman, who, in those days, sat

on the look-out at all times. He could not understand who the strange visitor, riding such a splendid charger, could be, and he ran to Macleod to tell of his approach, and to ask if he should be admitted. Macleod said, "Certainly; one man cannot hurt us." The fool rode up very proudly, and every one looked at him with astonishment. "Where did you get that horse?" inquired his master, who, when he heard the fool's story, laughed outright, and complimented him on being a very fine fellow. This pleased him very much; but when Macleod examined the saddle-bags, he found that there was much more money in them than his own, and he at once turned round and told the fool that he must at once go back to Rob Roy and return to him his money and his horse. He was terribly frightened, but he went, and restored to the outlaw both his charger and his cash; and the fool, Rob Roy, and Macleod are said to have been the best of friends ever after.

In 1760 Macleod raised a company of men on his property in Skye, and gave the command to his nephew, Captain Fotheringham of Powrie. The company was afterwards embraced in Keith and Campbell's Highlanders, and served with distinction in Germany, under Prince Ferdinand. A good number of men from Macleod's estates joined the Scottish Brigade in Holland, of which Macleod of Talisker was Colonel, and Macleod of Balmeanach Major.

Norman was known in his time, and is still spoken of in the traditional history of the family as "An Droch Dhuine" or "The Wicked Man." This was no doubt owing to his gambling, extravagant, and reckless habits of life, by which he so seriously impaired the fortunes of the family, and especially for his cruel treatment of his first wife and Lady Grange.

His grandson, General Macleod, who succeeded as Chief of the Clan on Norman's death, in 1772, wrote regarding him in 1785, in a manuscript fragment of *Memoirs of His Own Life*, in the following terms:—

"My grandfather, Norman, was an only and posthumous

son ; by the frugality of his ancestors, and the savings of his minority, he found our ancient inheritance in the most prosperous condition. I knew him in his advanced age ; and from himself, and many other friends, have heard much of the transactions of his life. With a body singularly well made and active, he possessed very lively parts. The circumstances of the times introduced him to the public with great advantage ; and, till the unfortunate 1745, he was much considered. An attachment to the race of Stuart then prevailed in Scotland ; and many of the leading men in England still favoured it. His independent fortune and promising character early obtained him the representation in Parliament of Inverness-shire, his native county. The numbers and fidelity of his Clan, and his influence with his neighbours, were known ; and I have many reasons to believe that many allurements were held out to seduce him to engagements which were then considered only as dangerous, but neither guilty nor dishonourable. It would be neither pleasing nor useful to inquire how deeply he was concerned in the preludes to the rebellion ; nor, indeed, have I been able to learn. It is certain that in the year 1746 he raised a company of his vassals to serve under my father, his only son, in Lord Loudon's regiment, and afterwards appeared, with six hundred of his Clan, in defence of the present Royal Family. From this period he was unfortunate ; the Jacobites treated him as an apostate, and the successful party did not reward his loyalty. The former course of his life had been expensive ; his temper was convivial and hospitable ; and he continued to impair his fortune till his death in 1772. He was the first of our family who was led, by the change of manners, to leave the patriarchal Government of his Clan, and to mix in the pursuits and ambition of the world. It was not then common to see the representatives of the Highland tribes endeavouring to raise themselves to eminence in the nation by arts of eloquence, or regular military gradation ; they were contented with private opulence and local dignity, or trusted their rank in the State to the antiquity of their families, or their provincial influence. Had Norman felt in his youth the necessity of professional or Parliamentary exertions, and had he received a suitable education, he would not have left his family in distress ; but the excellence of his parts, and the vigour of his mind would have attained a station more advantageous for the flight of his successors."

Having described his own early youth and education, General Macleod proceeds—

“In the year 1771 a strange passion for emigrating to America seized many of the middling and poorer sort of Highlanders. The change of manners in their chieftains, since 1745, produced effects which were evidently the proximate cause of this unnatural dereliction of their own, and appetite for a foreign country. The laws which deprived the Highlanders of their arms and garb would certainly have destroyed the feudal military powers of the chieftains; but the fond attachment of the people to their patriarchs would have yielded to no laws. They were themselves the destroyers of that pleasing influence. Sucked into the vortex of the nation, and allured to the capitals, they degenerated from patriarchs and chieftains to landlords; and they became as anxious for increase of rent as the new-made lairds—the *novi-homines*—the mercantile purchasers of the Lowlands. Many tenants whose fathers for generations had enjoyed their little spots, were removed for higher bidders. Those who agreed, at any price, for their ancient *lares*, were forced to pay an increase, without being taught any new method to increase their produce. In the Hebrides, especially, this change was not gradual but sudden, and baleful were its effects. The people, freed by the laws from the power of the chieftains, and loosened by the chieftains themselves from the bonds of affection, turned their eyes and their hearts to new scenes. America seemed to open its arms to receive every discontented Briton. To those possessed of very small sums of money, it offered large possessions of uncultivated but excellent land, in a preferable climate—to the poor it held out large wages for labour; to all it promised property and independence. Many artful emissaries, who had an interest in the transportation or settlement of emigrants, industriously displayed these temptations; and the desire of leaving their own country for the new land of promise became furious and epidemic. Like all the other popular furies, it infected not only those who had reason to complain of their situation or injuries, but those who were most favoured and most comfortably settled. In the beginning of 1772, my grandfather, who had always been a most beneficent and beloved chieftain, but whose necessities had lately induced him to raise his rents, became much alarmed by this new spirit which had reached his Clan. Aged and infirm, he was unable to apply the remedy in person; he



devolved the task on me ; and gave me for an assistant our nearest male relation, Colonel Macleod of Talisker. The duty imposed on us was difficult ; the estate was loaded with debt, encumbered with a numerous issue from himself and my father, and charged with some jointures. His tenants had lost, in that severe winter, above a third of their cattle, which constituted their substance ; their spirits were soured by their losses and the late augmentations of rent ; and their ideas of America were inflamed by the strongest representations, and the example of their neighbouring clans. My friend and I were empowered to grant such reductions in the rents as might seem necessary and reasonable ; but we found it terrible to decide between the justice to creditors, the necessities of an ancient family which we ourselves represented, and the claims and distresses of an impoverished tenantry. To God I owe, and I trust will ever pay, the most fervent thanks that this terrible task enabled us to lay the foundation of circumstances (though then unlooked for) that I hope will prove the means not only of the rescue, but the aggrandisement of our family. I was young, and had the warmth of the liberal passions natural to that age. I called the people of the different districts of our estate together ; I laid before them the situation of our family—its debts, its burthens, its distresses ; I acknowledged the hardships under which they laboured ; I described and reminded them of the manner in which they and their ancestors lived with mine ; I combated their passion for America by a real account of the dangers and hardships they might encounter there ; I besought them to love their young chieftain, and to renew with him their ancient manners ; I promised to live among them ; I threw myself upon them ; I recalled to remembrance an ancestor who had also found his estate in ruin, and whose memory was held in the highest veneration ; I desired every district to point out some of their oldest and most respected men to settle with me every claim ; and I promised to do everything for their relief which in reason I could. My worthy relation ably seconded me, and our labour was not in vain. We gave considerable abatements in the rents ; few emigrated ; and the clan conceived the most cordial attachment to me, which they most effectively manifested.”

While the future General Macleod was thus patriotically



engaged trying to save the family inheritance and his Clan, his grandfather died.

Norman married first, about 1726, Janet, youngest daughter of Sir Donald Macdonald, fourth Baronet of Sleat, with issue—

1. John, who commanded a company of the Macleods at Inverness in 1745, and married in 1753, Emilia, only daughter of Alexander Brodie of Brodie, Lyon-King-at-Arms, with issue—one son and five daughters, (1) Norman, born on the 4th of March, 1754, at Brodie House, who succeeded his grandfather in the family estates, and as Chief of the Clan. (2) Alexandra, who married Charles Mackinnon of Mackinnon, who sold Strathaird in 1786 to MacAlister of Loup. She left issue—John Mackinnon, who died unmarried at Leith in 1808. After the death of her husband, she went to Italy, became a Roman Catholic, and died in a convent. She had an only surviving daughter, Penelope, who married Alexander Mackinnon of Naples and Buenos Ayres, with issue—Charles Mackinnon, Montevideo, who, a few years ago, came back to London as Brazilian Consul. (3) Mary, who married Captain Ramsay, R.N., with issue—Colonel Norman Ramsay, who fell at Waterloo, and had married his cousin, Mary, daughter of General Macleod of Macleod by his first wife Mary Mackenzie of Suddie. (4) Isabella, who married Mr. Spence, without issue. (5) Anne, who died unmarried in 1826. (6) Another, of whom nothing is known. In 1765, John went to reside at Beverley, in Yorkshire, where he died on the 7th of January, 1766, predeceasing his father by six years, and was buried in the Minster. His widow (who died in 1803), and his five daughters, removed to Hampshire, while his son, Norman, proceeded to Edinburgh, where he studied in the University of that city, under Professor George Stuart.

2. Emilia, who married Captain Augustus Moore, of Salston, in Ireland.

Norman was separated from his wife, Janet Macdonald, of Sleat, for several years, during which time, we are

informed, "he took a fancy to a pretty girl" named Ann Martin. He is said to have sent his wife a kind letter, after many years of separation, inviting her back to Dunvegan. She returned, and soon after was reported dead. He then married, as his second wife, this Ann, daughter of William Martin, of Inchfure, described as "Mrs. Ann Martin," and by her he had issue—

3. Elizabeth, who married Sir James Pringle, fourth Baronet of Stichill, with issue (among others)—Sir John Pringle, fifth Baronet, born in 1784, and married, first, in 1809, his cousin, Amelia Anne, daughter of Lieutenant-General Macleod of Macleod, with issue—his heir, James; and secondly, on the 19th of October, 1831, Lady Elizabeth Maitland Campbell, daughter of the first Marquis of Breadalbane, with issue—two daughters—Mary Gavin, who, on the 18th of July, 1861, married Major Robert, second son of George, 10th Earl of Haddington; and Magdalene Breadalbane, who on the 9th of July, 1863, married Alexander Anderson of Newstead, Australia.

4. Anne, who married Professor Hill, of St. Andrews, with issue.

5. Rich Mary, who, on the 1st September, 1777, married Thomas Shairp of Houston, with issue—(1), Thomas Shairp, Major, 96th Regiment, born 10th September, 1778, and died, without issue, before his father in 1807; (2), Norman Shairp, who became his father's heir and successor, Major H.E.I.C.S. The latter was born 26th October, 1779, and married on the 6th of March, 1808, Elizabeth Bining, fourth daughter of John Campbell of Kildalloig, Argyleshire, with issue—(a) Thomas Shairp, now of Houston, and (b) Norman Shairp, R.N., who died, unmarried, in September, 1844; (c) the late John Campbell Shairp, Principal of the United Colleges of St. Salvator and St. Leonards, in the University of St. Andrews, Professor of Poetry at Oxford, and Professor of Humanity in St. Andrews. Principal Shairp married, on the 23rd of June, 1853, Eliza, eldest daughter of Alexander Henry Douglas, younger brother of the Marquis of Queensferry, with issue

—Norman, deceased, and John Campbell, advocate. Thomas Shairp of Houston had also by Rich Mary Macleod of Dunvegan, Anne Macleod, who married, in 1804, Thomas Innes, R.N., and Christian, who, in 1820, married William Mitchell Innes, of Parson's Green and Ayton.

Macleod had also two natural sons, Major Alexander Macleod of Lochbay, who fought in the American War of Independence, and afterwards distinguished himself in the European Wars. He married Anne, eldest daughter of the famous Flora Macdonald, with issue—one son, Norman, killed in a duel by Glengarry at Fort-George. Major Alexander for a time occupied Dunvegan Castle during General Norman Macleod's absence in India.

Macleod's other natural son was known as Captain Macleod "of Cyprus," being so called in consequence of his having spent a part of his time doing duty in that island. He married, first, a daughter of Macleod of Drynoch, who was drowned by the upsetting of a boat in Talisker Bay on the day of her marriage. He married, secondly, a niece of Flora Macdonald, with issue—three or four daughters, one of whom married the Rev. Roderick Maclean, minister of South Uist.

Norman Macleod died in 1772, and was buried in St. Andrews, when he was succeeded by his grandson,

## XX. GENERAL NORMAN MACLEOD,

Who, as already stated, was born at his maternal grandfather's residence, Brodie House, Nairnshire, on the 4th of March, 1754. In the fragment of his Autobiography already quoted, this Chief informs us that, when he was only eleven years old, his father, John Macleod, went to reside with the family at Beverley, in Yorkshire, where the latter died in the following year. Of his mother, at this time, General Macleod says—"The abilities, care, and maternal love of my surviving parent left me no other reason to regret my father than that which nature dictates for a brave, worthy, and so near a relation." His

grandfather at that time resided near Edinburgh, and young Norman was placed under the tutorial care of Professor George Stuart. Of this period he writes—"Under Mr. Stuart, and in the sight of my grandfather, who lived near Edinburgh, I continued to pursue an excellent and classical education for near five years; in this time I obtained a competent knowledge of Latin and French; and I acquired a taste for reading and a desire of general knowledge which has never left me. I was permitted to pay a visit to my mother, who had settled in Hampshire for the education of her daughters; after which I was summoned to the University of St. Andrews by my grandfather, who had taken a house in the neighbourhood. Here, for one year, I attended the lectures of Dr. Watson (author of the *History of Philip the Second*) on logic, rhetoric, and belles lettres, and those of Dr Wilkie, author of *The Epigoniad*, on natural philosophy; I also read Italian. Next summer I again visited my mother; and was sent in the winter to the University College, in Oxford. My tutor, Mr. George Strahan, zealously endeavoured to supply my deficiency in Greek, and I made some progress; but, approaching now to manhood, having got a tincture of more entertaining and pleasing knowledge, and a taste for the Latin, French and English classics, I could never sufficiently labour again as a schoolboy, which I now and will for ever lament." This was written in 1785, when General Macleod was thirty-one years of age, and after he had acquired considerable experience of life at home, and in the Indian army. Of his early education he says that though "a scholar would very justly call it superficial," it contributed much to his happiness in life. The fragment of his Autobiography, and his Indian correspondence, from which a few of his letters will be given, show that he was a man of extensive reading and culture, and that he could wield a graceful pen with telling effect and literary skill.

The efforts which he made, during his grandfather's life, to place the relations of Chief and Clan on a more satisfactory footing have already been told in his own

words. His description of what he had done, and the sentiments and spirit which at the time moved him to action, deserve to be written in letters of gold. When Norman was engaged in his patriotic attempts to retrieve the position of his family and people, his grandfather suddenly died, and he succeeded to the Chiefship and estates. He at once proceeded to Hampshire, and, as he tells us himself, easily prevailed upon his excellent mother and sisters to repair, in performance of his promise to his Clan, to Dunvegan, where they soon after arrived and, with the young, warm-hearted, well-meaning Chief, took up their residence in the ancient stronghold of his family.

Pennant, who had visited Skye the year before Dr. Johnson, called at Dunvegan on the 20th of July, 1772, and refers to its young Chief as a gentleman of the most ancient and honourable descent, but whose personal character does him infinitely higher honour than this fortuitous distinction. "To all the milkiness of human nature," he says, "usually concomitant on youthful years, is added the sense and firmness of more advanced life. He feels for the distresses of his people, and insensible of his own, instead of the trash of gold, is laying up the treasure of warm affection, and heart-felt gratitude."

In 1773, Dr. Johnson and his friend Boswell, then on their famous tour to the Hebrides, visited Dunvegan Castle, and were entertained within its walls for several days. On their way they met the young Chief at Raasay. Boswell informs us that "Dr. Johnson was much pleased with the Laird of Macleod, who is, indeed, a most promising youth, and with a noble spirit struggles with difficulties, and endeavours to preserve his people. He has been left with an encumbrance of forty thousand pounds debt, and annuities to the amount of thirteen hundred pounds a year. Dr. Johnson said of him, 'If he gets the better of all this, he'll be a hero; and I hope he will. I have not met a young man who had more desire to learn, or who has learnt more. I have seen nobody that I wish

more to do a kindness to than Macleod.' Such was the honourable eulogium on this young Chieftain, pronounced by an accurate observer, whose praise was not lightly bestowed." On the 13th of September, 1773, in the afternoon, Johnson and Boswell arrived at Dunvegan, having spent the previous night with Flora Macdonald in Kingsburgh House, where Dr. Johnson slept in the bed which was occupied by Prince Charles in 1746. Boswell describes the stronghold of the Macleods at the period of his visit in the following terms :—

"The great size of the castle, which is partly old and partly new, and is built upon a rock close to the sea, while the land around it presents nothing but wild, moorish, hilly, and craggy appearances, gave a rude magnificence to the scene. Having dismounted, we ascended a flight of steps which was made by the late Macleod for the accommodation of persons coming to him by land, there formerly being, for security, no other access to the castle but from the sea; so that visitors who came by the land were under the necessity of getting into a boat, and sailed round to the only place where it could be approached. We were introduced into a stately dining-room, and received by Lady Macleod, mother of the laird, who, with his friend Talisker, having been detained on the road, did not arrive till some time after us. We found the lady of the house a very polite and sensible woman, who had lived for some time in London, and had there been in Dr. Johnson's company. After we had dined, we repaired to the drawing-room, where some of the young ladies of the family, with their mother, were at tea. This room had formerly been the bed-chamber of Sir Roderick Macleod, one of the old lairds; and he chose it because behind it there was a considerable cascade, the sound of which disposed him to sleep. Above his head was this inscription: 'Sir Rorie Macleod of Dunvegan, Knight. God send good rest.'

. . . . Our entertainment here was in so elegant a style, and reminded my fellow-traveller so much of England that he became quite joyous. He laughed, and said, 'Boswell, we came in at the wrong end of this island.' 'Sir,' said I, 'it is best to keep this for the last!' He answered, 'I would have it both first and last.' Dr. Johnson said in the morning (14th September), 'Is not this a fine lady?' There was not a word now of his 'impatience



to be in civilized life ;' though, indeed, I should beg pardon—he found it here. We had slept well, and lain long. After breakfast we surveyed the castle and the garden. Mr. Bethune, the parish minister, Magnus Macleod of Claggan, brother of Talisker, and Macleod of Bay, two substantial gentlemen of the clan, dined with us. We had admirable venison, generous wine ; in a word, all that a good table has. This was really the hall of a Chief."

Boswell then describes in interesting detail the conversation which took place after dinner, and again after supper. Lady Macleod shows to great advantage, while Dr. Johnson enforces in characteristic fashion his strong common-sense views of men and things. Sheriff Macleod of Ulinish was one of the supper party, at which the young laird, surrounded by so many of the leading men of his Clan, is described by Boswell as a very pleasing sight.

On his arrival at Dunvegan, Dr. Johnson was suffering from a cold, which had recently become worse in consequence of his travels in such wet weather. Boswell writes, under date of 16th September—"Last night much care was taken of Dr. Johnson, who was still distressed by his cold. He had hitherto most strangely slept without a nightcap. Miss Macleod made him a large flannel one, and he was prevailed with to drink a little brandy when he was going to bed. He has great virtue in not drinking wine or any fermented liquor, because, as he acknowledged to us, he could not do it in moderation. Lady Macleod would hardly believe him, and said, 'I am sure, sir, you would not carry it too far.' Johnson—"Nay, madam, it carried me. I took the opportunity of a long illness to leave it off. It was prescribed me not to drink wine ; and having broken off, I never returned to it." Miss Macleod, now of Macleod, remembers her great-aunt, one of General Macleod's sisters, who was present on the occasion of Dr. Johnson's visit, quite well, and she has been good enough to supply us with the following interesting reminiscence :—"I have often heard," she says, "my great-aunt, who lived until I was nearly grown up, speak

of the visit of Dr. Johnson. Neither she, nor the other girls, seem to have appreciated his conversation as their mother and brother did. She used to say that he spoke crossly to the servants; and on one occasion, when the peats for his bedroom fire did not please him, he quite lost his temper, and insisted on going out himself to the peat stack in the court. As it was raining, and he went out without his hat, he caught a worse cold, and remained in bed for some hours in the morning. Lady Macleod thought it her duty to go up to inquire whether he had all he wanted. She presently returned to her daughters laughing, and told them that he had his wig on turned inside out, with the back to the front, to keep his head warm. 'I have often,' she said, 'seen very plain men, but anyone so ugly as Dr. Johnson lying in bed in that wig, I have not seen, and never expect to see again.'" It was no doubt this incident that led one of the Misses Macleod to make for Dr. Johnson the flannel nightcap mentioned by Boswell.

On Saturday the 18th, a discussion arose between Lady Macleod, Dr. Johnson, and Boswell on the advantages and disadvantages of the Castle and its situation. Mrs. Macleod expressed herself in favour of building a house on a farm she had taken about five miles away, where she could have a garden and other improvements which could not be had at Dunvegan. Boswell insisted that, whatever might be done in the way of building a house elsewhere, the seat of the family should always be upon the old rock, while Dr. Johnson said that the new house must not be such as to tempt the Laird of Macleod to go to reside in it. Mrs. Macleod argued that the Castle was very inconvenient; no good garden could ever be made near it; it must always be a rude place; it was a herculean task even to make a dinner in it. Boswell protested—"No, no, keep to the rock: it is the very jewel of the estate. It looks as if it had been let down from heaven by the four corners to be the residence of a Chief. Have all the comforts and conveniences upon it, but never

leave Rorie More's cascade." But Mrs. Macleod persisted in her opinions. "Is it not enough," she said, "if we keep it? Must we never have more convenience than Rorie More had? He had his beef brought to dinner in one basket and his bread in another. Why not as well be Rorie More all over, as live upon this rock? And should not we tire, in looking perpetually on this rock? It is all very well for you, who have a fine place, and everything easy, to talk thus, and think of chaining honest folks to a rock. You would not live upon it yourself." "Yes, madam," replied Boswell, "I would live upon it, were I Laird of Macleod, and should be unhappy were I not upon it;" upon which Dr. Johnson, in a stentorian tone and determined manner, burst in with the remark, "Madam, rather than quit the old rock, Boswell would live in the pit; he would make his bed in the dungeon." The lady continued to argue in favour of her pretty farm, rich soil, and fine garden, but Johnson replied that, if the Castle were his, he would not, upon any conditions, leave it.

Referring afterwards to this conversation, Sir Walter Scott says — "Dunvegan well deserves the stand which was made by Dr. Johnson in its defence. Its great inconvenience was that of access. This had been originally obtained from the sea by a subterranean staircase, partly arched, partly cut in the rock, which, winding up through the cliff, opened into the court of the Castle. This passage, at all times very inconvenient, had been abandoned, and was ruinous. A very indifferent substitute had been made by a road, which, rising from the harbour, reached the bottom of the moat, and then ascended to the gate by a very long stair. The present Chief, whom I am happy to call my friend, has made a perfectly convenient and characteristic access, which gives a direct approach to the further side of the moat in front of the Castle gate, and surmounts the chasm by a drawbridge, which would have delighted Rorie More himself." The surroundings of the castle have been much improved even since the time of Scott, and it now combines the comforts and convenience

of a modern residence, with the strength and halo of remote antiquity.

Johnson found himself so comfortable and so well attended to at Dunvegan that he became unwilling to leave it. On Saturday, after a stay of six days, Boswell proposed that they should take their departure on the following Monday; to which Johnson gruffly replied—"No, sir. I will not go before Wednesday. I will have more of this good." They, however, departed on Tuesday, 21st of September, the ninth day of their visit, and went to Ulinish, where they arrived at six o'clock in the evening, and were entertained by the tenant, William Macleod, Sheriff-Substitute of the Island, "a plain, honest, gentleman, a good deal like an English justice of the peace; not much given to talk, but sufficiently sagacious, and somewhat droll," says Boswell. Here they remained until Thursday morning, when they set out for the residence of Colonel Macleod of Talisker, who, "having been bred to physic, had a tincture of scholarship in his conversation, which pleased Dr. Johnson, and he had some very good books; and being a Colonel in the Dutch Service, he and his lady, in consequence of having lived abroad, had introduced the ease and politeness of the Continent into this rude region" of the Isle of Skye. Macleod had supplied Dr. Johnson and his companion with excellent horses to carry them through the island. Before leaving it, Johnson sent the following letter to Macleod from Ostaig, the residence of the Rev. Martin Macpherson, then Minister of Sleat:—

"Ostaig, 28th Sept., 1773.

"Dear Sir,—We are now on the margin of the sea, waiting for a boat and a wind. Boswell grows impatient; but the kind treatment which I find wherever I go, makes me leave, with some heaviness of heart, an island which I am not likely to see again. Having now gone as far as horses can carry us, we thankfully return them. My steed will, I hope, be received with kindness; he has borne me, heavy as I am, over ground both rough and steep, with great fidelity; and for the use of him, as for other favours, I hope you will believe me thankful, and willing, at whatever distance we may be placed, to show my sense of your kindness, by any offices of friendship that may fall within my power.

"Lady Macleod and the young ladies have, by their hospitality and polite-

ness, made an impression on my mind which will not easily be effaced. Be pleased to tell them that I remember them with great tenderness, and great respect.

"I am, Sir, your most obliged and most humble servant,

(Signed) "SAM. JOHNSON."

"P.S.—We passed two days at Talisker very happily, both by the pleasantness of the place and the elegance of our reception."

In his *Journey to the Western Isles*, Johnson himself describes his arrival at Macleod's residence and its occupants in the following terms:—"To Dunvegan we came, very willing to be at rest, and found our fatigue amply recompensed by our reception. Lady Macleod, who had lived many years in England, was newly come hither with her son and four daughters, who knew all the arts of southern elegance, and all the modes of English economy. Here, therefore, we settled, and did not spoil the present hour with thoughts of departure." After describing the stronghold, some interesting incidents in its history, its situation, antiquarian contents, and some more or less striking characteristics of the visitors he met within it, Johnson adds:—"At Dunvegan I had tasted lotus, and was in danger of forgetting that I was ever to depart, till Mr. Boswell sagely reproached me with my sluggishness and softness." Having referred to his visits to Ulinish and Talisker, he concludes his references to the Macleods and their treatment of him in the following eulogistic terms:—"Whatever is imagined in the wildest tale, if giants, dragons, and enchantment be excepted, would be felt by him, who, wandering in the mountains without a guide, or upon the sea without a pilot, should be carried amidst his terror and uncertainty to the hospitality of Raasay or Dunvegan." This was a great compliment from one who was never known to flatter.

General Macleod refers to the visits of these distinguished travellers with pardonable pride in the autobiographical notes already quoted, where he says that Dr. Johnson's principal object in visiting Skye was "to find proof of the inauthenticity of Ossian's Poems; and in his inquiries it became very soon evident that he did not wish to find



them genuine." "I was present," says General Macleod, "in a part of his search; his decision is now well-known; and I will very freely relate what I know of them. Dr. Macqueen, a very learned minister in Skye, attended him; and was the person whom he most questioned, and through whom he proposed his questions to others. The first question he insisted on was, Whether any person had ever seen the Poems of Ossian in manuscript, as the translator had found them; how and where these manuscripts had been preserved; and whether faith was given to them by the Highlanders? I must avow that, from the answers given to these questions, he had no right to believe the manuscripts genuine. In this he exulted much, and formed an unjust conclusion, that, because the translator had been guilty of an imposition, the whole poems were impositions. Dr. Macqueen brought him, in my opinion, very full proofs of his error. He produced several gentlemen who had heard repeated in Erse [Gaelic] long passages of these poems, which they averred did coincide with the translation; and he even produced a person who recited some lines himself. Had Dr. Johnson's time permitted, many proofs of the same nature would have been adduced; but he did not wish for them. My opinion of this controversy," continues General Macleod, "is that the poems certainly did exist in detached pieces and fragments; that few of them had been committed to paper before the time of the translator; that he collected most of them from persons who could recite them, or parts of them; that he arranged and connected the parts, and perhaps made imitative additions for the sake of connexion; that these additions cannot be large or numerous; and that the foundations and genuine remains of the poems are sufficiently authentic for every purpose of taste or criticism. It might be wished, for the sake of squeamish critics, that the translator had given them to the world as he found them; though, as a reader," says the General, "I own myself delighted with Fingal and Temora in their present appearance." This is the opinion of an educated Gaelic-speaking man, born



in 1754, a contemporary of Macpherson and his great opponent Dr. Johnson.

General Macleod points out with great effect that while the Doctor applied the laws of evidence in the strictest manner when enquiring into the authenticity of Ossian's Poems, he at the same time believed in the second-sight, and listened to all the fables of that nature which abounded in the Highlands, without any further evidence than that the number of alleged facts regarding it formed a presumption in its favour. Referring to this peculiar weakness of Dr. Johnson's otherwise masculine mind, Macleod pointedly remarks that, "no human being is perfect in any thing : the mind which is filled with just devotion is apt to sink into superstition ; and, on the other hand, the genius which detects holy imposition frequently slides into presumptuous infidelity." Nothing could more appropriately describe Dr. Johnson's opinion of the authenticity of the Poems of Ossian, and his belief in the gift of second-sight claimed by the Highland Seers.

With all his efforts to improve and his affection for the Clan, General Macleod soon became tired of his surroundings and responsibilities at Dunvegan. His feelings and disappointments must be described in his own words :— "I remained at home," he says, "with my family and clan till the end of 1774 ; but I confess that I consider this as the most gloomy period of my life. Educated in a liberal manner, fired with ambition, fond of society, I found myself in confinement in a remote corner of the world ; without any hope of extinguishing the debts of my family, or of ever emerging from poverty and obscurity. A long life of painful economy seemed my only method to perform the duty I owed my ancestors and posterity ; and the burden was so heavy, that only partial relief could be hoped even from that melancholy sacrifice. I had also the torment of seeing my mother and sisters, who were fitted for better scenes, immured with me ; and their affectionate patience only added to my sufferings."

At the period to which this passage refers he was still

under age, having just entered on the last year of his minority. In that year (1774), he finally determined to enter the army. His relative, the Hon. Colonel Simon Fraser of Lovat in 1757 raised a regiment of 1460 men, who had greatly distinguished themselves in the Canadian Wars, and he had the family estates restored to him in 1772. In 1775, he received Letters of Service for raising another regiment of two battalions in the Highlands. Having very soon completed his task, he in April, 1776, marched with a fine body of 2340 men to Stirling, and thence to Glasgow. From Glasgow they proceeded to Greenock, whence they sailed in a large fleet for America, accompanied by the 42nd Highlanders and other troops. For this new 71st regiment, designated the Fraser Highlanders, Norman Macleod of Macleod raised a company, and joined the First Brigade, with the rank of Captain, at their head.

When the regiment was being raised, Norman, who was at the time in the neighbourhood of Inverness, was accidentally thrown from his horse and badly hurt. He was carried by his friends to the house of Kenneth Mackenzie, III. of Suddie, where he was tenderly nursed by Mackenzie's eldest daughter, Mary, until he recovered from the effects of his accident. The Chief of Dunvegan and his nurse were soon afterwards married, and when he embarked for America, at the head of his clansmen, he was accompanied by his young wife. Both were taken prisoners on the passage out, and were subsequently very kindly treated by General Washington, of whom Macleod, according to his son, often afterwards spoke "in terms of the warmest affection." In a few years he returned to Britain, and was in 1780 made Lieutenant-Colonel of the second battalion of the 42nd Highlanders, raised by himself. He was appointed to this high rank on the 21st of March, 1780, and continued at the head of the battalion until, in 1786, it was formed into a separate regiment, designated the 73rd, when he became its Lieutenant-Colonel.

In December, 1780, the newly raised regiment embarked

at Queensferry, to join an expedition then fitting out at Portsmouth, bound for the Cape of Good Hope, under command of Major-General William Meadows and Commodore Johnstone. This expedition left Portsmouth on the 12th March, 1781, arriving at Bombay on the 5th of March in the following year, having taken within a week of twelve months on the voyage out. The men suffered most severely from scurvy and fever, no fewer than 5 officers and 116 non-commissioned officers and privates having died during the passage. The transport "Myrtle," with Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod and the other officers on board, separated from the rest of the fleet in a gale off the Cape of Good Hope. The vessel had neither chart nor map; the master was an ignorant seaman; and it was only through the assistance of Captain Dalziel, one of the officers on board, that, after many months, they arrived at Madagascar, the appointed rendezvous. They found no trace there of the rest of the fleet. Colonel Macleod and his companions made their way back to St. Helena, procured charts, and at length reached Madras on the 23rd of May, 1782.

In the absence of Colonel Macleod, the command of the troops intended for actual service devolved on Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie Humberston of Seaforth, of the 100th Regiment. He started with an expedition to attack Palacatcherry, taking several forts on his way; but, on his arrival, he found the place much stronger than he expected. Hyder Ali had sent his son, Tipoo Sahib, for its relief, and Colonel Humberston deemed it prudent to withdraw to Mangaracotah, one of the small forts which he took on his forward march, but, learning that Tipoo was advancing, he continued his retreat, closely pressed by the enemy in great force, to Paniané, where he arrived in the morning of the 20th of November, 1782, and found Colonel Macleod awaiting him.

Colonel Macleod, who had arrived there from Madras on the previous night, the 19th, as the senior officer at once assumed command of the united forces. Here he found

himself surrounded by an enemy mustering 10,000 cavalry and 14,000 infantry, including two corps of Europeans under the French General Lally, while his own force had been reduced by sickness to 380 Europeans and 2200 Sepoys fit for duty. Writing to the Select Committee at Bombay, under date of 29th November, 1782, Macleod describes the position in which he found himself. "This being the situation, it was a most hazardous attempt to force us. Just before the dawn of the 28th, I was raised from sleep by a smart firing at Major Campbell's post. I immediately flew thither and found a very heavy firing at the Old Fort. Major Campbell had got there before me, and was charging large columns of the enemy with his bayonet. He had with him the Light Company and Grenadiers of the 42nd, the ninth, and some who flocked to him from the piquets. In passing out I found the 42nd Regiment, under Captain Campbell, ready under arms. I took him with me, and at the end of the lane we met a thick column of the enemy, who had passed the horse, and were pushing into the town. We rushed up on them, wounded and took a French officer, their leader. Large bodies were seen moving along our front. Major Campbell, with the troops attending him, ran at them wherever he could perceive them. Captain Campbell, with the 42nd, gallantly followed me in the same work; our soldiers in the fort fired warmly still, and there was much cannonading and musketry on the left of Major Shaw's. Day now broke, and we perceived that the enemy had almost cleared the field. They retreated as fast as they could, and my knowledge of their having such large bodies of horse alone prevented my pursuing." He cannot, he says, express the ardour of the troops, and the behaviour of officers and men was all he could wish. The attack was made in the dark, "by a number prodigiously superior" to his, but the moment the outposts were attacked the enemy were met, furiously assailed and defeated, by the brave band under his command. In his general orders, he says that this little army "had nothing to depend on but their native

valour, their discipline, and the conduct of the officers." These were "nobly exerted," and "the intrepidity with which Major Campbell and the Highlanders repeatedly charged the enemy was most honourable to their character." After this brilliant victory by the troops under Macleod, Tipoo retreated towards Seringapatam, leaving about 2000 dead and wounded on the field or taken prisoners, while Colonel Macleod's loss was 8 officers and 88 men killed and wounded, native and British, of whom belonged to the 42nd Regiment, 3 sergeants and 19 rank and file killed; and Major John Campbell, Surgeon Thomas Farquharson, 2 sergeants, and 31 rank and file wounded.

Macleod was now ordered to Bombay, to join the army under Brigadier-General Mathews, with whom he formed a junction at Cundapore on the 8th of January, 1783. On the 23rd he moved forward to attack Bednore. During the march, the troops were much harassed by flying parties of the enemy, and seriously impeded by the nature of the country, rendered much more difficult by a succession of field-works constructed on the face of the mountains, which the invading British force had to ascend.

These field-works were, however, soon taken possession of by the intrepid Macleod, at the head of the 42nd and his Sepoys. On the 26th of February, 1783, according to the official despatches, "the 42nd, led by Colonel Macleod, and followed by a corps of Sepoys, attacked these positions with the bayonet, and, pursuing like Highlanders, were in the breastwork before the enemy were aware of it. Four hundred were bayoneted, and the rest pursued to the wall of the fort." In this manner, General Stewart of Garth says, "seven forts were attacked and taken in succession, when the formidable appearance of the principal redoubt, Hyder Gurr, rendered it necessary to proceed with caution." It was situated on the highest precipice of the mountains, with a dry ditch in front, and mounted with twenty cannon, while, on the face of the mountain, seven batteries were on intervening terraces, one above the other, with internal lines of communication, and the outward approaches ob-



structed by trees placed transversely, so as to prevent ascent at any point except that exposed to the full effect of the cannon. These formidable obstructions proved of no avail against the undaunted bravery of the Highlanders. Their advance struck terror into the minds of the enemy, and the stronghold of Bednore was taken possession of by Macleod on the 27th of January, 1783.

Hyder Gurr, so called from its pre-eminent strength above all the other forts, was found to contain 8000 stand of new arms, with a large quantity of powder, shot, and other military stores. A vast amount of treasure, amounting to £800,000, was found in the city of Bednore, besides a large quantity of jewels. But though the army was in the greatest distress for money, not having received any pay for a year or more, General Mathews positively refused to divide any of the spoil among the officers or men. The most vehement complaints and remonstrances ensued. Refractory proceedings were severely, if not arbitrarily, punished; three of the leading officers, Colonel Macleod, Colonel Humberston, and Major Shaw, left the army, and proceeded to Bombay to make representations to the Governor and Council. So flagrant did the conduct of General Mathews appear to the Governor and Council, that they superseded him, and appointed Colonel Macleod, the next officer in rank, to take his place at the head of the army. Colonel Macleod, now Brigadier-General and Commander-in-Chief, returning to the army with the two other officers, in the *Ranger*, fell in, off Geriah, with a Mahratta fleet of five vessels on the 7th of April, 1783. This fleet was not, it appears, apprised of the peace which had been previously arranged; and Macleod, "full of impatience, temerity, and presumption," instead of attempting an explanation, or submitting to be detained at Geriah for a few days, gave orders to resist the enemy. The *Ranger* was taken, but only after nearly every man on board was either killed or wounded. Major Shaw was slain, and Brigadier-General Macleod and Colonel Humberston wounded, the latter mortally. The latter died in



a few days at Geriah, in the twenty-eighth year of his age ; and was lamented as an officer of the most exalted promise ; a man who nourished his spirit with the contemplation of ancient heroes, and devoted his spare hours to the study of the most abstruse sciences connected with his profession.\*

During Colonel Macleod's absence, the army was dispersed in small detachments all over the country, and nothing was dreamt of by those in charge of it but the accumulation of riches ; while intelligence, fortifications, and provisioning for the army were entirely neglected. Tipoo soon took advantage of this unfortunate state of affairs ; suddenly appeared on the 9th of April, 1783 ; seized Bednore and laid siege to the fort ; occupied the Ghauts ; cut off the garrison from all possibility of retreat ; and, on the 30th of April, its defenders capitulated, honourable terms being promised them ; but, instead of the conditions being implemented, officers and men were placed in irons, and marched off like felons to a dreadful imprisonment in the fortresses of Mysore.

General Macleod, shortly before this, in March, 1783, addressed a letter to his relative, Mr. John Macpherson, of the Supreme Council of Bengal, in which he relates the more important proceedings in which he had taken part since his arrival in India, and in the same communication he complains in the severest terms of the conduct of General Mathews, the Commander-in-Chief, to whose position he himself soon after, in consequence, succeeded. This letter is sufficiently interesting, though somewhat long, to justify its reproduction in full. General Macleod says :—

Sir,—Though I have not had the pleasure of hearing from you for some time, I will not stand on the ceremony of a letter with you, as I imagine you will like to hear of my transactions more fully than by the public accounts. You know that I had the good fortune, immediately on my arrival, to defeat a very bold attempt of Tipoo Sahib to crush the little army which, till that time, had acted under Humberston. He had been forced to make a very rapid retreat before Tipoo, and I had just time to make a disposition in a very strong post. Lally led on the enemy in heavy columns ; our Sepoys behaved very well, and committed great slaughter by their fire, but I owed the chief

\* *History of India*, by James Mill, 1820, Vol. IV., pp. 231-2.

success to a charge I made at the head of the 42nd into the thickest of them. Tippo's attack was as bold, and the disposition of it as fine, as anything I recollect in the military way, but his troops were inferior to ours. He did not, however, abandon his design ; he remained 14 days afterwards in our neighbourhood, and I had every reason to expect another attempt, but he was called away by his father's illness.

I was then left to do as I thought best. I found I had no proper carriage or equipment to follow him to Palakacherry, and, besides, there was no concert established to meet at a fixed time with Colonel Lang's army, which alone would have made it proper to have moved that way. I had heard of a surmise of an intended expedition against Mangalore, which I should be probably ordered to join. I therefore, on Tippo's departure, which happened on the 12th December, employed myself in stripping all my heavy stores, collecting craft, and putting the army in a capacity to move anywhere.

My intention was, if not in the meantime forbid from Bombay, to go and take Cochin, from which I was but six days' easy march. For this purpose I entered into a negotiation with the King of Travancore, who offered to join me in that enterprise with his whole army. This design was stopped by an order to join General Mathews with my whole force on the coast above Mangalore, which I instantly obeyed.

I know General Mathews is a friend and a favourite of yours. I will trust also to my having a share of your affection and good opinion, and shall be very free and candid in what I say of him to you. I was shocked to find he had been only a Captain when I was a King's Lieutenant-Colonel, that he came to Bombay only a Lieutenant-Colonel, and had been slapdash appointed a Brigadier-General, seemingly on purpose to get the command over us.

I know the reasoning adopted by the Company's servants in India to justify their preference of their own officers to his Majesty's, but you will excuse me if I did not think them satisfactory in general, but particularly weak in this. They say it is fair to show a preference to their own officers ; perhaps I think so too, but not so great a preference as to give a man four steps at once over the head of others, who have not only committed no fault, but who have been victorious and warmly approved of. They allege the necessity of local knowledge ! How far scampering over Carnatic, at the head of a few horse, can give a man local knowledge of the Malabar Coast, I don't know ; certain it is General Mathews had no topographical knowledge of the coast ; of the language he had not a syllable ; and seemed to be totally stranger to and indifferent about the manners of the people.

It might also be unfair to suppose me totally destitute of local knowledge. A soldier properly bred and eager to distinguish himself makes local enquiry his first object on his arrival in a strange country. I had followed Sir Eyre Coote in a very marching campaign. I had studied his arrangement ; I had lived with a finer army of Sepoys than ever Mathews saw ; I knew as much of the language as he did, so that in truth I did not think the want of local knowledge, comparatively speaking, could be fairly urged to justify his commanding me. But I was more shocked to find him no soldier ; ignorant to the greatest degree in the very first rudiments of the profession ; totally incapable of arranging, equipping, or subsisting an army ; unversed in the arts of obtain-

ing intelligence, or of policy ; rash and injudicious in his temper ; disgusting in his manners.

Notwithstanding all this, Humberston and I determined, as we were on active service, to postpone the consideration of the injury done us, and contribute our utmost to his success. If he has done us justice in the account of the conquest of Bedinore you will know that we kept our resolution. I commanded in the only action which happened, the army being several miles behind me. I found the enemy to the number of 5000. I had about 900 excellent Sepoys and 300 Europeans. The enemy were posted in strong entrenchments, which we carried sword in hand, killed the General, several hundred of his men, and routed and dispersed the rest. This discouraged them so much that that Gauts were taken almost without opposition.

Notwithstanding of this success, accident alone got us the conquest, for had resistance been continued, he had taken no means to enable us to overcome Hyat Sahib's treachery and desire to obtain command, and his dread of Tippu made him surrender at once what we should never have taken. This unexpected good fortune quite intoxicated our noble General. He now quarrelled with everybody ; broke with Hyat Sahib, who in consequence sent away the family of the Killidar of Mangalore, which has encouraged that man to make an obstinate defence ; then suddenly reconciled himself with Hyat Sahib, by giving him back all or part of his treasures which were taken by the army, for which they are going to prosecute him in your Supreme Court. Then he obliged his whole staff, Quarter-master-General, Commissary-General, Adjutant-General, Brigade-Major, etc., etc., to resign ; dispersed the army over the face of the earth, starved the troops, insulted the officers, and played the very devil.

I had thoughts of quitting the army before, and he quickened that motion both in Humberston and me, by refusing to insert us in public orders as Colonels in India, on the pretence of having no official information, though we showed him undoubted private intelligence of the King having given us the rank. I had also a dispute with him about victualling the King's troops, whom he starved in a most unnecessary and most barbarous manner. This brought on a correspondence which you will one day see, which ended in Colonel Humberston and me leaving the army. You are not to imagine, however, that we contributed in the least to the discontent of the army. Till he drove us away, we were his only support against the most general discontent and disposition to mutiny I ever saw.

Upon arriving here I found orders from England, transmitted by Sir Eyre Coote, to draft our regiment and send home the officers. The Governor and Select Committee, in the letter which accompanied these orders, made me a very handsome compliment on my services, and a strong request to remain myself in the Presidency during this critical period. I of course consented, and offered to serve in any capacity wherein I could be thought of use. So much for myself. I will now amuse you with my ideas of the war on this coast, as far as my *local knowledge* enables me to form any, submitting most emphatically to your better judgment and superior information.

The great object has been to force the enemy to abandon the Carnatic,

by carrying the war into his own country, and by all means if possible to penetrate to Syringapatam. The death of Hyder happened most opportunely for the execution of this plan, but for want of a large enough combination, and by the disobedience and incapacity of Brigadier-General Mathews, this opportunity is likely to be lost; for if an attempt is now made to push into the heart of the Mysore kingdom, it is likely to prove one of the most fatal measures that ever was adopted. I must first establish, as a principle, that the army which penetrates must be strong enough to contend with Tippo's whole force, and cover and obtain subsistence for itself, because the advantage of the measure implies his withdrawing from the Carnatic and collecting his force at Lonu. General Mathews' army was never strong enough for this, else how can we account for a much stronger one, under a much abler General, Sir Eyre Coote, not being able to crush Hyder.

By a well-concerted junction with Colonel Lang's army at Palakacherry, they, together, would have been strong enough to effect this grand object. The Government of Bombay instructed him to come to me at Panianè, and do this very thing, but he disobeyed. Providence, kind to him beyond measure, gave him another opportunity of striking the noble stroke—win with his single army. By the treachery of Hyat Sahib, Bedinore fell into our hands in a moment; the army had marched from Cundapore totally unequipped; he had abridged every department so effectually, by way of economy, that we could never carry two days' provisions, and not ammunition enough for two actions, not a single battery gun, very few field pieces, and no carriage for sick or wounded. Had he come properly equipped, the business was easy, nay, after the blunder of coming so unprovided, a remedy presented itself which he lost. By means of Hyat Sahib we might have got the carriages we wanted, and no hindrance would have been given to our movements. This man offered to oblige Mangalore to surrender to us, and also the other forts between Gop and Tellicherry. He offered to join us with all his adherents, to ensure his fidelity by giving us possession of the family, and to furnish us with horses, elephants, bullocks, money, and provisions. But the General chose to quarrel with him, and in his first rage Hyder sent away his troops to a distance, dismissed the families of the Killidars, particularly of Mangalore, and hid his cattle so that we could find none.

The General then behaved so strangely to his army that they lost all confidence in him; this Hyat saw, and I believe from that time cast about to secure himself in case of accidents, by giving us as little assistance as possible. The General could not then proceed against Syringapatam; he could not leave Mangalore and the other places in the rear; he was obliged to besiege them, which will occupy the whole season, and give Tippo time to save his capital. Had we been properly equipped from Cundapore, or had we made the proper use of Hyat Sahib, we might have boldly marched in ten days to Syringapatam; it is but a weak place by the description I got from some of Lord Macleod's Regiment, taken with Baillie. Tippo was at a distance, his people were unfixed, his Government not established. We should have taken the place, and by a proper motion to the south-east, and communication with Lang, we might have formed a junction with him. This required genius,

military skill, policy, vigour, and disinterestedness, address to manage and divide the enemy, and to conciliate and unite his own army, but was infinitely above the contracted ideas of ignorant, improvident, and selfish Mathews. I am at this moment in very great apprehension for the army; they are dispersed in a most unmilitary manner, and in a way which will render their assembly more dangerous and impracticable than that of the army in the Carnatic at the beginning of the war. In short, Mathews' success hitherto has been because he has had no enemy; if Tippo comes against him he will fall.

I don't know whether I have done right or not, in being so free about a man you profess a regard for; but my character is to be open and above board. I have acted toward him with the most perfect honour and integrity, and will continue to do so.

I must now take the liberty of telling you that I expect to hear directly from yourself, and that if you don't write to me, I shall think you wish to throw off a troublesome correspondent.

I have a most affecting letter from Ullinish. His eldest son, my lieutenant, was killed in America; he beseeches and implores one of his sons to go home to him.

Believe me, with great affection and respect,

My dear sir,

Your most obt. humble sert.,

(Signed) NORMAN MACLEOD.

Bombay, March 14th, 1783.

Macleod, promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General in 1783, was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Malabar army in place of General Mathews, who, as the result of the representations made by Macleod, Humberston, and Shaw, was suspended. Shortly before this a resolution had been arrived at by the military authorities to draft the men of the second battalion of the 42nd Highlanders to other regiments, and to send the officers and non-commissioned officers home to Great Britain. Macleod was at the same time specially requested by the Governor of the East India Company and the Special Committee to remain, as the authorities were of opinion that his services were absolutely necessary where he was. While quite willing to serve personally, he strongly urged that his men should not be drafted into any other corps, and successfully pleaded his case in a letter, addressed to the Indian Commander-in-Chief, only four days after the date of the letter to John Macpherson, a member of the Supreme Council of India, already given at length. On



the same subject of drafting his men, Macleod writes—

To His Excellency Sir Eyre Coote, K.B.,  
Commander-in-Chief of India.

Bombay, 18th March, 1783.

Sir,—General Carnac promises to do me the honour of delivering this letter to your Excellency, and I most sincerely hope he will find you in health and vigour once more at the head of your army.

The Select Committee have showed me instructions from the Governor-General and Supreme Council of Bengal to grant a passage home to the officers and non-commissioned officers of the 2nd Batt. of the 42nd Regt. in consequence of an order sent to your Excellency by Lord Hillsborough to draft the men. I also received a letter from Major Grattan, Agt.-General, to hold them in readiness to be drafted accordingly. I have to observe to your Excellency that it is the first time ever that this regiment was drafted, and that we were raised upon the idea of being exempted from that misfortune. My own Company are all of my own name and Clan, and if I return to Europe without them, I shall be effectually banished from my own home, after having seduced them into a situation from which they thought themselves spared when they enlisted into the service. They are now much reduced, and being on a brisk actual service, will be still more so before they can be drafted; their numbers will then not exceed 30 or 40 men. I must entreat your Excellency to allow me to carry them home with me, that I may not forfeit my honour, credit, and influence in the Highlands, which have ever been exerted for His Majesty's service. My connections and mode of entering into the army are not unknown to the King, and I am certain the favour I solicit for myself and Clan from your Excellency will meet with his Royal approbation.

I did myself the honour of writing to you by Captain Hallem, soliciting your permission to be allowed to serve on this coast sometime longer. Since that time the Governor and Select Committee have written me a most obliging letter, of which the following is an extract:—"We have advice from the Honble. Governor and Council that you and the other officers of the 42nd Regt. are ordered to Europe, and the men to be incorporated in the other corps, but being of opinion that your services are absolutely requisite on this coast at this critical period, our duty to the Company, and to the trust reposed in us, impels to make it our request to you that you will continue to serve."

In return, I told them that as my life and time were my country's, if they thought my services of such consequence, I was at their command in any way, with your Excellency's permission.

Major Grattan's letter having mentioned that some mode would be concerted with the Admiral, to carry the men round when drafted, I have yet heard of no such mode; the Regt. is now in the interior part of the country. When I am honoured with your particular commands as to the time and mode of drafting it, I shall immediately and implicitly follow them.

I have the honour to be, with the most perfect respect,

Sir,

Your Excellency's most obt. and most humble servt.,

(Signed)

NORMAN MACLEOD.

This spirited communication not only saved Macleod's



clansmen from being drafted into another corps, but saved the battalion, which afterwards became the 73rd Regiment, from being broken up.

In the following May, Tipoo besieged a small force of British troops in Mangalore, with an overwhelming army of 60,000 horse and 30,000 disciplined Sepoys, and a body of 600 French infantry, under Colonel Cossigny, Lally's corps of Europeans and natives, a troop of dismounted French cavalry from the Mauritius, and irregular troops to the number of many thousands, supported by 90 pieces of artillery. The British garrison only consisted of 459 Europeans, of whom 231 were Highlanders, and 1,500 natives, fit for duty. This small force successfully defended Mangalore against the enormous army arrayed against it, until the 30th of January, 1784, against repeated attacks, the continued bombardment having at length made such breaches in the walls of the fort, and reduced them in many parts to such a ruinous condition that its brave defenders could not venture to fire their cannon from their position. Tipoo's force, however, suffered most severely in several attacks, and, on the 20th of July, it was agreed on both sides to cease hostilities. But the enemy repeatedly broke faith, on the 23rd actually firing a mine at the very moment a flag of truce was flying, and only three days after the agreement to cease hostilities was entered upon. Proposals for a regular armistice were again made on the 29th July, and it was concluded on the 2nd of August.

General Macleod, with a small convoy carrying provisions and a small reinforcement of troops, anchored in the bay on the 17th of August, but, "influenced by an honourable regard to the terms of the armistice," he ordered his ships back to Tillycherry, though the enemy were daily committing acts of treachery. The General reappeared in the bay on the 22nd of November with a considerable army. But instead of landing, he, through his secretary, entered upon a tedious negotiation with Tipoo, and having stipulated that one month's provisions should be admitted into the

besieged garrison, he again set sail and left the bay on the 1st of December. Of the beef and pork sent in, in terms of the stipulation made, "not one in twenty pieces could be eaten by the dogs." Macleod came back once more on the 31st of December, but again departed, still keeping "faith with the enemy, who showed no disposition to imitate his example." General Stewart informs us that the misery and privation of the troops, thus tantalized, had risen to a height almost insupportable. They were reduced to nearly half their original number, and half the remainder were in hospital. Tormented and tantalized with so many expectations of relief, the sick, who had been temporarily invigorated by hope, became dispirited, and relapsed into a state of despondency that proved fatal to numbers of them. Many of the Sepoys became totally blind, and others were so weak that they dropped down where they stood shouldering their firelocks. Their provisions were almost consumed; their patience entirely exhausted; they had no hope of relief, nor the least knowledge as to what part of the coast General Macleod had gone to. The troops were eating horse flesh, snakes, dogs, ravenous birds, kites, black game, rats, and mice, and in the utmost distress for every necessary of life. In these circumstances, it was decided, by a Council of War, to surrender the garrison on terms which were highly honourable to its gallant defenders, after having held out for nearly nine months against such enormous odds. The terms offered were at once accepted by the enemy; the garrison marched out with arms, accoutrements, and the honours of war, and embarked for Tillycherry, where they landed on the 4th of February, 1784, after "a defence that has seldom been equalled and never surpassed." The brave band consisted of the second battalion of the 42nd Highlanders, General Macleod's own regiment, a few men of the 100th, a detachment of European infantry and artillery, and the 1st and 8th battalions of Bombay Sepoys, afterwards formed into a Grenadier corps, for their conspicuous gallantry during a siege, in the course

of which Tipoo lost nearly half of his enormous army.

This was the last active service in which this regiment as the second battalion of the 42nd, was actively engaged. At the conclusion of the war it was intimated to both battalions that instead of placing all their officers on half-pay, the juniors were to be reduced in each of them; whereupon strong representations were made, and the excellent services of their officers in distant regions pointed out. The matter was reconsidered by the authorities, and the second battalion being now complete in numbers by new recruits from the Highlands, it was ordered by the King to be formed into a separate corps, with green facings, under the command of Sir George Osborne, and to be designated the 73rd Highlanders. This arrangement was carried into effect on the 18th of April, 1786, at Dinapore, in Bengal, when General Macleod rejoined his old regiment as one of its Lieutenant-Colonels.

In one of his despatches to the Sultan about this time, General Macleod pens the following spirited passage, which explains itself. He says:—"You, or your interpreter, have said, in your letter to me, that I have lied, or made a mensonge. Permit me to inform you, Prince, that this language is not good for you to give or me to receive; and if I were alone with you in the desert you would not dare to say these words to me. An Englishman scorns to lie; an English General who would dare to lie would be crushed to pieces by the just rage of our magnanimous King. You have said that I lied, or made a mensonge. This is an irreparable affront to an English warrior. I tell you our customs; if you have courage enough to meet me, take a hundred of your bravest men on foot, meet me on the seashore, I will fight you, and a hundred men of mine will fight yours." What this bold challenge ended in we have not ascertained.

In a continuation by his son and successor of the General's autobiography, already quoted, and referring to his father's career in India, he says:—"I know at this moment but little of the public history of my father at

that period. From subsequent misfortunes that befel him my mother has never willingly talked of his career in India; all I know is, that he, a very young Lieutenant-Colonel in the King's service, commanded the army on the Malabar Coast, taking rank according to the regulation of those days of all Company's officers of the same rank, though of older standing; he served with great success, and made a good deal of money, about £100,000; but I believe, although not addicted to play, he suffered himself to comply with the custom of his associates, and lost all, or nearly all of his earnings. In consequence of a new order, that Company's officers should hold rank according to the dates of their commissions, my father found himself under the necessity of resigning his command to those who had formerly obeyed him; and remaining in this situation not being consistent with his ideas of military propriety, he returned to England in the year 1789. My mother, with his children, followed him to Britain in 1790, and he was shortly afterwards [in the same year] unanimously returned at the General Election for the county of Inverness, which he continued to represent until the General Election of 1796.\* Having stated that in consequence of some mis-

\* In a letter from Mr. Henry Mackenzie, Edinburgh, to Sir James Grant of Grant, dated 25th May, 1789, the writer says, referring to the proposed political arrangements in the north:—"I received on Saturday yours of the 18th, with its enclosures. Macleod's letter is very well written, a good deal after the manner of the late General Fraser, on whose model his epistolary style was formed. I cannot say quite as much for our friend Bannatyne's, tho' I am persuaded it is much the most *sincere* of the two; but in point of writing it is so confused and mystical, that I own I am not quite certain if I understand it. It seems, however, on the whole, to mean, that tho' Macleod's friends would not chose to go the length of *soliciting* for him, yet, were he put in nomination by any respectable person, and supported by a few respectable proprietors, they would risk his standing, tho' without any prospect of success at present. . . . You know, I suppose, that Macleod Bannatyne is himself a keen opposition man."—*The Chiefs of Grant*, Vol. II., pp. 305-6. In another letter from the same gentleman to Sir James Grant, regarding political matters, dated 22nd February, 1790, the writer says, regarding Inverness-shire:—"I understand there is now an idea of a compromise between the Frasers and Macleod, that Macleod shall sit the first half, and Lovat or his son the last half of the Parliament, which may suit both very well."—*The Chiefs of Grant*, Vol. II., p. 507.

understanding with Henry Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, General Macleod joined the Opposition and became one of the most strenuous opponents of Mr. Pitt's administration, his biographer continues—"His military prospects were now closed for ever, and from the early age of thirty-five to forty-seven, when he died, was to him a constant scene of disappointment, misfortune, and remorse. His income was far from being competent to his rank in life. I suspect it did not amount to more than two thousand a year; and while he was in America and India his Commissioners had sold large tracts of his estate (Harris and Loch Snizort Side) for less than half their value. As he was the first of his family who parted with his inheritance, he was doubly grieved to find that he had impoverished his heirs, without materially benefitting himself." He increased the family debt from £50,000, at which amount he succeeded to it, to £70,000 at his death, notwithstanding that he sold the greater portion of the ancient Macleod inheritance. Harris and St. Kilda were sold in 1779 to Alexander Macleod, one of the Macleods of Bernera, late Captain of the *Mansfield* Indiaman, for the small sum of £15,000. St. Kilda has, however, since returned to the family. Alexander Hume, Captain Macleod's son, on the 26th of April, 1804, sold it and the adjoining islands to Colonel Donald Macleod of Achnagoyle for the sum of £1350, whose son, the late Sir John Macpherson-Macleod of Glendale, K.C.S.I., in 1871, resold it to the present Macleod of Macleod for £3000.

At the General Election of 1796, General Macleod contested the burgh of Milbourne Port, against one of the Paget family, when he was defeated after an expenditure of £15,000. To meet this expense, he was obliged to sell the Waternish portion of his Isle of Skye estates, which only realised a sum sufficient to meet his election expenses, though a few years after the same lands were sold for £30,000.

Shortly after his defeat, General Macleod removed to Edinburgh, and in 1801 he took up his residence in a small



country house, which he rented at Newhaven. His health, which had for some time been giving way, was now getting much worse, and in the last named year he accepted an invitation from a friend, Captain Murray of the *Prince of Wales* Excise yacht, to accompany him on a voyage to Guernsey, expecting that the trip and consequent change of air might produce an improvement in the state of his health. He had, however, scarcely arrived in the island when his family received intimation of his death.

General Macleod married, first, Mary, eldest daughter of Kenneth Mackenzie, third of Suddie, with issue—

1. Norman, who died young, having gone down in the *Queen Charlotte*, in which he served as Lieutenant.

2. Mary, who married Colonel Norman Ramsay, who fell at Waterloo. She died soon after her marriage, without issue.

Mrs. Macleod died in 1784 in France, whither she had gone with her two children during her husband's absence in India.

He married, secondly, in the same year, Sarah, daughter of N. Stackhouse, Second Member of Council at Bombay, then in her seventeenth year, with surviving issue—

3. John Norman, his heir and successor.

4. Sarah, who married her cousin, Robert Pringle of Stitchill, without issue. Both died soon after the marriage.

5. Amelia Anne, who married her cousin and brother-in-law, Sir John Pringle, Baronet, of Stitchill, with issue—James, his heir and successor.

6. Anne Eliza, who married, on the 3rd of July, 1821, Spencer Perceval, eldest son of the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval, Prime Minister of Great Britain. She still survives at the ripe old age of 92 years.

General Macleod died at Guernsey in August, 1801, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

## XXI. JOHN NORMAN MACLEOD,

Born in 1788. He represented Sudbury in Parliament from 1828 to 1832. After the passing of the Reform Bill



of 1832 he contested the County of Inverness against Charles Grant, afterwards Lord Glenelg, but was unsuccessful by a few votes.

He married, on the 16th November, 1809, Anne, daughter of John Stephenson of Merstham, Kent, with issue—

1. Norman, his heir, now of Macleod.

2. Torquil James, who, on the 28th April, 1821, died young.

3. Harold John Leod, who, in 1846, died unmarried.

4. Emily Sarah, now residing at Dunvegan Castle.

5. Anna Eliza, who, on the 2nd of June, 1840, married James Ogilvie Fairlie of Williamfield, Ayrshire, with issue—(1) Henry James, born on the 9th of March, 1841; and (2) a daughter, who, in 1867, married Archibald Campbell, younger of Achandarrach, who died in September, 1885. Mrs. Fairlie died on the 9th of September, 1843.

6. Harriette Maria, who married John Campbell, of Glensaddel, Argyleshire, with issue—(1) Charles, who, born in February, 1847, married, in 1873, Esther, daughter of Colonel Fairlie, by his second wife; (2) Walter Frederick, born in 1850, and died in 1882; (3) John Norman, born in 1852; (4) Eleanor Ann; and (5) Harriette Roma, who, in 1870, died unmarried. Mrs. Campbell died on the 14th of January, 1877.

7. Eleanor Anne, who died, aged thirteen years, on the 3rd of December, 1830.

8. Mary Lowther, who, in 1846, married Robert Ferguson, M.D., F.R.S., Physician to the Queen, with issue—(1) Robert Ronald; (2) Harold Stuart; (3) Robert Bruce; (4) Mary Roma, who married Major Farrant of the 81st Regiment; and (5) Marian Cecil.

9. Elizabeth Roma, who, on the 9th of March, 1845, died unmarried.

John Norman Macleod died on 25th March, 1835, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

## XXII. NORMAN MACLEOD,

Now of Macleod, who was born on the 18th of July, 1812. He was educated at Harrow, and afterwards spent

some time in France and Germany, for the purpose of acquiring a knowledge of the languages of these countries, In 1834 he became a member of the Inner Temple, but was not called to the Bar. After the death of his father, in 1835, he resided for several years chiefly at Dunvegan Castle. During the famine of 1847-48, he remained constantly at home, and made every effort to alleviate the distress of his tenants. The result of the famine was disastrous to them and to him. They were impoverished, and he was reduced to the verge of financial ruin. He was obliged to leave home and go to live where he could obtain employment. With a manliness much to be admired in a gentleman occupying his position, he resolved to work out a career for himself, and began life again in 1849 in the public service of his country, at the age of 37 years, as a junior clerk in the Prisons' Department of the Home Office. Here he remained, working hard for a mere pittance, until, in 1852, he was appointed Registrar or Assistant Secretary in the Science and Art Department, under Mr. (afterwards Sir) Henry Cole, on whose retirement in 1874 Macleod succeeded to his position, and remained in charge at the head of the Department until, in 1881, he retired on a pension.

In 1860 it was resolved to form a Volunteer Engineer Corps of the Science and Art Department employés—the first Engineer Corps formed in the United Kingdom. It consisted originally of 200 men, but rapidly increased to three, four, five, and six companies. Macleod was chosen as Commanding Officer, and from Captain soon rose to be successively Major and Lieutenant-Colonel. The latter post he held for eleven years, until, in consequence of the press of other duties, he found himself obliged to resign it, when he became Honorary Colonel of the regiment, a position which he still occupies.

In 1854 the Queen appointed him Sergeant-at-Arms in Her Majesty's household, an appointment which he continues to hold.

He married on the 15th of July, 1837, the Hon. Louisa

Barbara St. John, only daughter of St. Andrew, 13th Lord St. John of Bletsoe, with issue—

1. Norman Magnus, late Captain 74th Highlanders. He was born on the 27th of July, 1839, and joined his regiment in 1858. He served as Aide-de-Camp to General Sir Hope Grant, Commander-in-Chief in the Presidency of Madras, from 1862 to 1865. Retiring from the army in 1872, he went to Natal in the following year, and in 1874 was employed by the Government of that Colony on a special mission to the Government of India to make arrangements for the re-opening of coolie emigration to Natal. On his return from this mission he was appointed Protector of Immigrants in Natal, with a seat in the Legislative and Executive Councils. In 1875 he resigned this post for the purpose of making a trip into the interior of Africa, in the course of which he visited the Victoria Falls on the Zambesi River. This trip occupied him fifteen months. On the break out of the Zulu War in 1878, he was appointed by Sir Bartle Frere, Political Agent on the Transvaal border, chiefly with the view of preventing the Swazie tribes from joining the Zulus. He commanded the Zulu army, numbering 8000 men, in the attack on Sekukuni, under General Sir Garnet Wolseley in 1879, and for his services on this occasion he received the Zulu War medal, and was created a C.M.G. He returned home in 1880, and on the 27th of April, 1881, married Emily Caroline, second daughter of Sir Charles Isham, Baronet of Lamport Hall, Northampton, with issue—(1) Emily Pauline; and (2) Margaret Louisa.

2. Torquil Olave, born on the 10th of August, 1841, and died on the 3rd September, 1857.

3. Reginald, born on the 1st February, 1847, and married on the 17th of April, 1877, Lady Agnes Mary Cecilia, eldest daughter of the late Right Hon. Earl of Iddesleigh, with issue—(1) Flora Louisa Cecilia; and (2) Olive Susan Miranda.

4. Roderick Charles, a clergyman of the Church of England, vicar of Bolney, in Sussex. Born on the 18th

of April, 1852, he married, in 1885, Katharine, daughter of Rev. W. Jelf, of Coerdem, Dolgelly, with issue—a daughter, Brenda Katharine.

5. Louisa Cecilia, who, on the 18th of December, 1860, married John Moyer Heathcote of Conington Castle, County of Huntingdon, with issue—(1) John Norman, born on the 21st of June, 1863; (2) Arthur Ridley, born 14th of February, 1877; (3) Emily Louisa, who died unmarried, in her nineteenth year, on the 25th of May, 1880; (4) Evelyn May.

Macleod's first wife died in 1880, and he married secondly on the 14th of July, 1881, the Baroness Hanna, eldest daughter of Baron d'Ettingshausen of Graz, Vienna, without issue.

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THE DUNVEGAN FAMILY ARMS—Azure, a castle triple-towered and embattled argent, masoned sable, windows and porch gules. *Supporters*—Two lions, regardant gules, each holding a dagger proper. *Crest*—A bull's head cabossed sable, between two flags gules, staves of the first. *Motto*—“Murus aheneus.” *Device*—“Hold fast.”

## THE MACLEODS OF GESTO.

THE family of Gesto is the first that branched off from the main stem of the Macleods of Dunvegan and Harris whose genealogy can at the present day be traced. The patronymic of the Macleods of Gesto is "Mac Mhic Thormoid," the first of the family being Murdo, son of Malcolm, son of Tormod II. of Macleod, son of Leod, progenitor of the race. The first of the Macleods of Gesto was thus literally *Mac Mhic Thormoid*, or son of the son of Tormod or Norman, and hence the family patronymic. The first of the family of Gesto was

I. MURDO MACLEOD, third son of Malcolm III. of Macleod, and grandson of Leod, progenitor of the race, by his wife, Martha, daughter of Donald, Earl of Mar, nephew of King Robert the Bruce. The Macleods of Gesto are often referred to in the history of the principal family—the Macleods of Dunvegan. Several distinguished men have descended from this branch, and there are many men and women in good position, now living, who can trace their descent through the heads of the family of Gesto to Robert the Bruce and to the Kings of Norway and Man.

The lands of Gesto extended on the one side from a place called "Leabaidh an Tuirc" and "Allt Coire Uisg," in Drynoch, to the Water of Scallisaig, in Struan on the other side. It is said that this cadet family had at one time under charter from the Chief one-half of the lands of Glenelg, and that his successors continued to possess these until, early in the seventeenth century, during the reign of Sir Rory Mor at Dunvegan, they lost them in consequence of the then head of the family, John VI.

of Gesto, having murdered his brother-in-law, MacCaskill of Ebost.

Murdo, the first of the family of Gesto, is said to have married a daughter of Gillies, a great Chief at that time in the Isle of Skye, and to have received with her as tocher or marriage-portion the extensive lands above described. Their successors were always distinguished from the other branches of the Clan Macleod by their family patronymic of "Mac Mhic Thormoid." By his wife, the daughter of Gillies, Murdo Macleod, first of Gesto, had issue—

1. John, his heir and successor.

2. Margaret, who married John Bethune, from whom were descended the family of local physicians so long famous in Skye, and all over the Western Isles.

Murdo was succeeded by his son,

II. JOHN MACLEOD, second of Gesto, of whom nothing is known, except that he married a daughter of Chisholm of Strathglass, with issue—

1. Norman, his heir and successor.

2. Neil, who succeeded his brother Norman.

3. Flora, who married her cousin, Angus Bethune of Dun-Eillinish.

Donald was succeeded by his son,

III. NORMAN MACLEOD, third of Gesto. He died unmarried, and was succeeded by his brother,

IV. NEIL MACLEOD, fourth of Gesto, who was twice married—first, to a daughter of the Chief of the Mac-Caskills, with issue—

1. Murdo, who succeeded his father; and several other sons and daughters. Some of the sons went to France and Germany, and settled there.

Neil Macleod married, secondly, a daughter of Mac-kinnon of Strath, also with issue, but his descendants by the second marriage are long extinct. He was succeeded by his eldest son by the first marriage,

V. MURDO MACLEOD, fifth of Gesto, who married Flora, daughter of Donald Macdonald, VIII. of Glengarry, with



issue, among others, several of whom went to France and Germany—

1. John, who succeeded him.
2. A daughter, who married Macleod of Balmeanach.
3. A daughter, who married MacCaskill of Ebost.

Murdo was succeeded by his eldest son,

VI. JOHN MACLEOD, sixth of Gesto. He married Mary, daughter of Donald Macdonald, third of Kingsburgh, better known as “Domhnall Mac Ian 'ic Sheumais,” the famous Skye warrior. Donald in his latter days devoted himself to more peaceful pursuits. He is said to have been the first man who ever took a drove of cows from the Isle of Skye to the southern markets, and to have, during the remainder of his life, carried on an extensive and lucrative business as a cattle-dealer. John Macleod of Gesto on occasions used to chaff his wife on the nature of her father's business. At that time, as now, it would seem that cattle-droving was not considered the most suitable profession for a gentleman.

Macleod, a proud and high-tempered but kind-hearted man, good-naturedly dubbed his father-in-law, “*Aireach liath nam bò*,” or the Grey-haired cow-feeder. Gesto's sister was married to MacCaskill of Ebost, and, on the occasion of the birth of a son to his sister, Macleod proceeded to Ebost to congratulate the mother and his brother-in-law on the happy event. The result is thus told by the late Alexander Cameron:—“Over their punch at night the brothers-in-law disputed. From high words they came to use their weapons; MacCaskill raised his sword to cleave Macleod's skull, but the point of the sword stuck in the rafter or wooden beam above him, and Macleod seeing the sword raised above his head, plunged his dagger into MacCaskill's breast, making a mortal wound. Macleod at once returned home, told his wife what had occurred, and asked her advice as to what he should do, as he was quite sure the MacCaskills of Rhundunan would be on his track to take vengeance upon him for Ebost's death. She advised him to go to her father, “*Aireach*

liath nam bò," for protection. Though this step was somewhat humiliating after the abuse he was in the habit of heaping on the cattle-dealer, he at once set out for Cuidrach, where Donald then resided, and was well received by him. Next morning a party of MacCaskills were observed on a height above Cuidrach House. Macleod remained within, but Donald Mac Ian Mhic Sheumais, with his great broadsword, walked to and fro in front of the house on guard. The MacCaskills despatched a boy, whom they had with them as guide, to the house, to ask that the murderer of their relative should be sent out. The boy was terrified at the appearance of Donald MacIan Mhic Sheumais, who asked him his business and his name. The messenger replied that he was a MacDonald. Mac Ian 'ic Sheumais at once gruffly informed him it was a good thing for him that he was so, otherwise he had forfeited his life ; that Macleod would not be delivered up ; and that, if the MacCaskills had any value for their lives, they had better not attempt to secure him. The boy returned with this message, and informed the MacCaskills how frightened he was at the grey-haired, giant-looking man who met him, and who was using his large sword as a walking-stick. Upon this the MacCaskills prudently determined that, as their deceased kinsman and Macleod were related, there was no call on them to risk their lives to revenge his death, and they consequently returned to their homes.\*

In consequence of the murder of his brother-in-law, Sir Rory Mor, XIII. of Dunvegan, deprived John of Gesto of the lands which had been held by his ancestors for generations under the Chiefs of Macleod in Glenelg, and of other lands occupied by the family on both sides of the original possessions of Mac Mhic Thormoid.

The family tradition in connection with the death of MacCaskill is, that the head of the family was outlawed for his brother-in-law's death, and that consequently he was afraid to appear before the Lords of Exchequer in

\* *The History and Traditions of the Isle of Skye.*

terms of the Act of 1597, which required all Chiefs and owners of land in the Highlands to produce their titles. Gesto in the circumstances trusted to his Chief, Rory Mor of Dunvegan, who was also connected with him by marriage, for Rory Mor's wife was John of Gesto's aunt. John, therefore, though unable to appear before the Lords of Exchequer personally, trusted that his Chief would secure for him his rights to the lands of Gesto when getting his own titles established. But Rory Mor, according to this tradition, knowing that John could not appear, managed to get the lands of Gesto included in the new charter of the lands of Dunvegan, which he obtained for himself from the Crown in 1611. This version cannot, however, possibly be accurate; for Rory Mor did not go forward to present his own titles. All his own lands were for that reason forfeited to the Crown, and he was in consequence for several years after 1597 in constant trouble with his neighbours, with the Court, and with the Privy Council. It was not until the fourth of May, 1610, that he succeeded in obtaining remission for his own crimes against the peace of the realm; and it was only in the following year, after purchasing the rights of others who had secured legal titles to his own forfeited lands, and after much difficult and delicate negotiation, that he obtained the charter of 1611 in his own favour.

Mr Lachlan Macdonald of Skaebost, an excellent genealogist, and himself a grandson through his mother of Neil Macleod, the last representative of his house who occupied Gesto, does not believe in the family tradition, and he considers it open to doubt whether the Macleods of Gesto were ever independent of the Chiefs of Dunvegan, to the extent claimed by his ancestors. "Probably," he says, "the Mac Mhic Thormoids held the land granted to Malcolm, the 3rd Baron, in Glenelg and also Gesto rent free. John Macleod, tenth of Gesto, in a letter written to his cousin, Major John Macleod, in the Scots Brigade of the Dutch Army, alluding to the incident of the manslaughter which resulted in forfeiture, says—'Our

great-great-grandfather, *who forfeited ye lands we had of ye family,*' which implies," Mr Macdonald says, "that the Mac Mhic Thormoids held their lands from the Macleods of that Ilk."

John, as already stated, married Mary, daughter of Donald Macdonald, III. of Kingsburgh, with issue—

1. Murdo, his heir and successor.
2. John, who succeeded his brother.
3. Donald, who married Isabel, daughter of the Rev. Allan Maclellan, minister of Glenelg; with issue. This Donald appears to have had possession as tenant of the lands for a time, for he is on record there in 1664. From him descended a family of Macleods settled in Holland, and now represented by Lieutenant-General Norman Macleod, Aide-de-Camp to the King of the Netherlands, and by his son, who is Comptroller of the Netherlands Navy.

John was succeeded by his eldest son,

VII. MURDO MACLEOD, seventh of Gesto. He married a daughter of Macleod of Ferinlea, with issue—several sons and daughters. The sons appear to have predeceased their father, who was succeeded by his next brother,

VIII. JOHN MACLEOD, eighth of Gesto, commonly called "Ian Mor." He married Margaret, daughter of John Macleod, II. of Drynoch, with issue—

1. Roderick, his heir and successor, and four other sons, two only of whom arrived at maturity. These two were married and had issue, but their descendants are long extinct.

John had also five daughters, one of whom married Macleod of Oze, with issue—a son, William Macleod of Oze. A second daughter of Gesto's married John Og Bethune, while a third married Macleod of Ferinlea. All the daughters left issue, but they cannot now be traced.

John was succeeded by his eldest son,

IX. RODERICK MACLEOD, ninth of Gesto. He was the first of the family who took a lease of the ancient possessions of his house, which he did, in 1728, from Norman Macleod, XIX. of Dunvegan. Roderick married

Margaret, daughter of the Rev. Angus Macqueen, son of the Rev. Archibald MacQueen of Rigg, with issue—

1. John, his heir and successor.
2. Norman Macleod of Summerdale.

Roderick, who was alive in 1745, was succeeded by his eldest son,

X. JOHN MACLEOD, tenth of Gesto. He was a Major in Gordon's Regiment, and married Annabella, daughter of Neil Mackinnon of Borerraig, Strath, son of Lachlan Mackinnon of Corry, Isle of Skye.

By this lady John had issue—

1. Neil, who succeeded him.
2. A son who served in the Royal Artillery, attained the rank of General, and afterwards resided and died at Woolwich.
3. Flora, who married Captain William Macleod, VI. of Hamer, with issue.

John was succeeded by his eldest son,

XI. NEIL MACLEOD, a Captain in the army, and the last of the family who occupied the house and lands of Gesto. For many years he was engaged in a law suit with his Chief, John Norman Macleod, XXI. of Dunvegan, regarding the boundaries of the farm, which he ultimately won. In consequence of this, and his independent spirit generally, Macleod determined to get rid of him on the termination of the lease, which expired in 1825, when the farm of Gesto was joined to that of Drynoch, and ever since disappeared as a separate residence.

Captain Neil Macleod was a great authority on pipe music, and although he could not play the bagpipes himself, he knew almost all the "piobaireachds" ever composed, as well as their origin and history. In 1828 he published a small book containing twenty "piobaireachds," to illustrate the MacCrimmon system of pipe music notation, known as "Canntaireachd." This curious book is now very rare, but there is a copy of it in the library of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, presented by the late Rev. Alexander Macgregor, himself an excellent piper, and personally

acquainted for many years with the author of the book.

Curiously enough it was only in 1880 that the late J. F. Campbell of Islay came to know for the first time about the MacCrimmon notation and Gesto's book, though the Rev. Mr. Macgregor delivered a paper in which he gave specimens from it eight years before, on 24th October, 1872, before the Gaelic Society of Inverness; and this paper was afterwards published in the Society's Transactions for that year. The existence of Gesto's "Canntaireachd," was well known among the best informed Highlanders, but Mr. Campbell was so struck with the system, and so pleased with what he thought to be his own discovery of it, that he wrote a pamphlet, in which he treated it as a new and most important revelation in connection with Highland pipe music. Knowing Mr. Macgregor to be intimately acquainted with the "Cann-tairearchd" notation, the booklet and its author, we called his attention to Mr. Campbell's pamphlet, requesting at the same time that he should supply us with a brief statement of what he knew of the whole subject. Mr. Macgregor's reply is of special interest to all connected with the Macleods of Gesto, and deserves to be given in a sketch of that family. This is now done exactly as it reached us. The reverend gentleman writes—

MY DEAR CEILTEACH, — I was in Edinburgh during the winters of 1831, 1832, 1834, and 1835, and almost all these years old Captain Neil Macleod of Gesto, in Skye, resided in Edinburgh, and thus spent more of his time there than he did with his family at home. During the day he was seldom or never absent from the Advocates' Library, and I have heard it said that he had even passed several nights there, having more than once been accidentally shut in at the close of the day. He amused himself there searching out for old books, writing letters, and attending to law papers, for he was at law with his proprietor, Macleod of Macleod, for many years, about the boundaries of Gesto. He lost his case, [in this Mr. Macgregor seems to have been in error] was ruined, lost his farm, and resided ultimately in a rented cottage, with his wife and daughters, in the village of Stein. He was a



tall, gaunt, thin-faced man, with long nose, grey hair, white hat, tartan trousers, and plaid. He was known as the "Parliament House Ghost," and at times the "Advocates' Library Ghost," as he frequented these places day and night.

I saw him daily, or almost so, and saw him oftener than I wished, as he made me write hundreds of pages of his law papers, to save expenses to him. He was crazy about "Piobaireachd," but did not play himself. He knew, I believe, almost every "piobaireachd" in existence—their names, their composers, their origin, and the causes for composing them. When strolling to and from the Advocates' Library, he very frequently called on and sat for hours with old John Macdonald, the father of Donald Macdonald, pipe-major to the Highland Society, whose portrait I recently saw in your possession. He would make Donald (then about 80 years old, while his father, then also alive, was upwards of 100), play "piobaireachds" to him, all of which he himself could articulate with his pliant lips in the MacCrimmon noting style. He had a large manuscript collection of the MacCrimmon "piobaireachds," as noted by themselves, and part of it was apparently very old and yellow in the paper from age, with some of the writing getting dim. Other parts were evidently more modern, and on different paper. Donald Bàn MacCrimmon, who was killed at the rout of Moy the day before the battle of Culloden was (Gesto said) one of the best of the MacCrimmon performers; but the best of them all was Padruig Mor MacCruimein. For many ages these pipers noted down their "piobaireachds," and Padruig Mor had a daughter who was very expert at noting, and could also play herself when asked as a favour to do so. I should think that the manuscript I saw with him would contain upwards of two hundred "piobaireachds," from the bulk of it; and out of that manuscript he selected twenty or so, which he published as specimens. The MacArthurs, pipers to the Clan Macdonald of the Isles, noted their "piobaireachds" also, but with different vocables. Gesto had one very old-looking leaf of their noting, on which the vocables appeared very faint, but I did not look much at it.

Gesto told me that the vowels *a e i o u* were the roots of the syllabic notes. The vowel *i* (pronounced as in Gaelic and Latin—*ee*) was the root or index of the highest note on the chanter, and *u* the lowest, and *o* the next lowest, and then *a* and *e* represented the middle notes in the

chanter. It was thus the case that such vocables as *hi*, *tri*, *ti*, represented the high notes, and *ho*, *hu*, the lowest. These they combined by rules of their own, as *hio*, *hiao*, *hiuo*, *hi dro to hachin*, *hidrototatiti*, *hidrototutati*, *hidrototututi*, *hiydrotohachin*. I could easily fancy that it would be a very simple matter to fix on syllables, or vocables to represent every bar in pipe music, as it is such regular music in its construction. Any piper of any knowledge who can play the "urlar" of the tune, and also the first "siubhal," can easily play the "taobhluth" and the "crunn-luth." If you give myself the noting of the first "siubhal" of any "piobaireachd," I could easily note down all the other variations, should I have never heard nor seen the "piobaireachd" before. This regularity in pipe music renders it an easy matter to frame syllables for the "urlar" and for the first "siubhal," or variation; and if you have that on some fixed principle, it is easy to add the rest.

This is all I have to say on the subject of the "Brochan Ileach," and it is enough; my dear *Ceilteach*, yours, gu dileas.

(Signed) ALASDAIR RUADH.

1st September, 1880.

Neil Macleod married Flora, daughter of Charles MacKinnon, younger of Corry, with issue—six sons and six daughters—

1. John, who was drowned at sea.
2. Norman, also supposed to have been drowned at sea.
3. Charles, who went to America, married a Mrs. Macgillivray in the West Indies, and afterwards returned to this country. In 1849 he was appointed manager on the Gairloch estate by the then factor, the late Dr. John Mackenzie of Eileanach. He died at Flowerdale, without issue, in 1851.
4. Kenneth, an Indian planter, who ultimately became the representative of the family.
5. Donald, who went to America, and married Isabella, daughter of Mr. Murray, once of Greshornish, with issue—a son, Neil Macleod, who is the present male representative of the family, and a daughter, Norma, who is married to the Rev. Adam Macqueen.
6. Roderick, who died young.
7. Ann, who married Charles Macdonald of Ord, Isle

of Skye, fifth son of Dr. Alexander MacEachainn or Macdonald of the Glengarry Fencibles, with issue—(1) Alexander R. Macdonald, now of Ord, who married Maria Macdonell of Keppoch, with issue. (2) Lachlan Macdonald, now of Skaebost, who married Wilhelmina, daughter of the late John Mackenzie of Bengal, with issue. (3) Keith Macdonald, a doctor of medicine, now at Cupar, and the compiler of an excellent collection of Highland music, published in 1887. He married Eliza Niblett, Edinburgh, with issue. (4) Neil Macdonald, late of Dunach, Argyleshire, who married Madeline, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Brown, of the north of England, with issue. (5) Charles Macdonald, a retired Indian planter, late of Clayton, Fifeshire, now residing at Muirton House, Inverness. He married Anne Mary, daughter of Thomas Williamson, Glasgow, with issue. (6) Flora Macdonald, who married the late Alexander Smith, the poet and well-known author of *A Summer in Skye*, with issue. (7) Isabella Macdonald, who married John Robertson, of Greshornish, with issue, among others, Kenneth Robertson Macleod, to whom, as his grand-nephew, Kenneth Macleod, XII. of Gesto, left the estates of Greshornish and Orbost. (8) Margaret Macdonald, who married Godfrey Mackinnon, of North Goonambil, Australia, with issue.

8. Janet, who died at Caroline Hill, Skaebost, unmarried, in 1882.

9. Mary, who married the Rev. John Macdonald, a minister belonging to Inverness. He never occupied a charge in this country, but emigrated to Australia immediately after his marriage. They had issue—a son, John; and a daughter, Flora, who married, in Australia, Kenneth, fourth son of Alexander Mackenzie, second son of Alexander Mackenzie, XI. of Hilton. Mary died in 1878.

10. Flora, who went to America, where she married, with issue, and died in 1883.

11. Margaret, who, as his second wife, married Angus

Nicolson, merchant, Portree, with issue—four sons, all unmarried; and four daughters. All the family emigrated, except Christina, who married Mr. Macewen, a schoolmaster in Assynt. Anabella, another of the daughters, married a Mr. Macdonald, in Australia, by whom she had a large and prosperous family.

12. Barbara, who died young.

Neil Macleod of Gesto, who died in 1836, was succeeded as representative of the family by his fourth son,

XII. KENNETH MACLEOD, an indigo planter in India, where he resided for about thirty years and made a fortune. He afterwards returned home, took up his residence in the Isle of Skye, and purchased the estates of Greshornish and Orbost. The name of the ancestral abode of his family having disappeared in that of Drynoch, Kenneth determined to commemorate it in the name of the Gesto Hospital at Edinbane, which he built and endowed with £30,000 for the benefit of natives of the Isle of Skye. He died unmarried in 1869, and left the estates of Greshornish and Orbost to his grand-nephew, born in 1864, Kenneth Robertson Macleod, now of Greshornish.

Kenneth was succeeded as representative of the family by his nephew,

XIII. NEIL KENNETH MACLEOD, the present "Mac Mhic Thormoid," residing in Canada.

He married, first, Miss Stirling, without issue. He married, secondly, Miss Shaw, with issue—two sons.

#### THE NETHERLANDS BRANCH OF THE MACLEODS OF GESTO.

DONALD MACLEOD, third son of John VI. of Gesto, who appears to have had possession of the ancestral home about 1664, married Isabel, daughter of the Rev. Allan Maclellan, minister of Glenelg, with issue—(1) Murdo, of whose posterity nothing is known; (2) Donald, whose descendants we have not been able to trace; (3) Norman, the youngest son. This

NORMAN MACLEOD was an officer in the Dutch Scots

Brigade. He married Gertrude Schrassert, and died in London in 1729, leaving issue—a son,

JOHN MACLEOD, who was born in 1727, and became an officer in the same Brigade (in Colyer's regiment), retiring as a Colonel in 1783. He died in 1800, having married M. A. van Brienon, with issue—a son,

NORMAN MACLEOD, born in 1755, also an officer in the Dutch Service. He followed William, Prince of Orange, to England in 1795. In 1810 he married Sarah Evans, a Welsh lady, and returned to Holland when it regained its independence in 1813. He rose to the rank of Major-General, and died in 1837, leaving issue—three sons,

1. Norman Macleod, born in 1811, an officer in the Dutch Army, now a retired Lieutenant-General, and Aide-de-Camp to the King of the Netherlands.

2. William Pasco Macleod, born in 1813, and died, unmarried, in 1848. He was a Captain in the Dutch Army.

3. John van Brienon Macleod, born in 1825. He was a Captain in the Infantry, and died in 1868, leaving a son, Rudolph Macleod, now a Lieutenant in the Dutch Indian Army.

Major-General Norman Macleod was succeeded, as representative of this family, by his eldest son,

NORMAN MACLEOD, Lieutenant-General, and Aide-de-Camp to the King of the Netherlands. He has the following decorations :—Commander of the Lion of the Netherlands ; Grand Cross of the Golden Lion of Nassau ; Commander of the Order of the Oaken Crown ; Grand Cross of the Order of the Red Eagle of Prussia ; Grand Cross of the Order of Frederic of Wurtemberg ; Commander of the Order of the Legion of Honour ; and a bronze Cross for the war in Belgium. He married Joanna Jacomina Esser, with issue—two sons,

1. Norman, at present a Captain in the Royal Navy of the Netherlands, who married Johanna van Ross, with issue—four daughters. He is Comptroller of the Dutch Navy ; a Knight of the Order of the Lion of the Netherlands ; and

a Knight of the Order of the Oaken Crown ; and has two medals for the war against Atchin.

2. Edward Donald Henry, a captain in the Regiment of Grenadiers and Chasseurs of the Netherlands, who married Anna van Bochore, with issue—Donald John Edward, a student in the University of Leyden. Edward is also an Officer of the Oaken Crown.

Captain Norman Macleod, being in command of a Dutch training-ship in 1881, in that year visited the east coast of Scotland, and, finding himself so near the land which his great great-grandfather left in the seventeenth century, he took a short leave of absence, and proceeded to the Isle of Skye to see his distant cousin, the late Miss Jessie Macleod, who was then alive and resided at Caroline Hill, Skaebost. He remained several days with her, and during his visit went to see the burying-place of his ancestors in the churchyard of Bracadale, which is marked by a plain granite pedestal, erected by the late Kenneth Macleod of Greshornish, bearing the following simple inscription :—

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF THE  
MACLEODS OF GESTO.



## THE MACLEODS OF MEIDLE AND GLENDALE.

### THE MACLEODS OF MEIDLE.

THE branch of the Macleods, of which the families of Meidle and Glendale formed a part, was known among their countrymen as "Sliochd Ian 'ic Leoid," or the descendants of John Macleod. From the same ancestor are also descended the Macleods of Drynoch [which see], Balmeanach, Vatten, and several others which cannot now be traced. John Borb, VI. of Macleod, had, by his wife, Margaret, grand-daughter of the Earl of Douglas, two sons—William, VII. of Macleod; and Tormod, progenitor of this family. They are said to have been twins, and for many years this branch contended that Tormod, their ancestor, was the first-born, and that his successors were the rightful heirs to the estates and Chiefship of the Clan. At one time, they succeeded in asserting this claim for a brief period, one of the family having been acknowledged as Chief, in which capacity he actually obtained possession of Dunvegan Castle. The descent of the "Sliochd Ian 'ic Léoid" is derived as follows—

JOHN BORB MACLEOD, VI. of Macleod, married Margaret, grand-daughter of the Earl of Douglas, with issue—twin sons, William, his heir and successor, and

TORMOD MACLEOD, progenitor of this family. Tormod had also a sister Margaret, who married Roderick Macleod, VII. of Lewis; and another, who married Lachlan Bronnach Maclean, VII. of Duart. This Tormod commanded the Macleods at the battle fought in Lochaber in 1429 between Alexander, Lord of the Isles, whom he supported, and James I., on which occasion he was killed at the head of the Clan. He was married to a daughter of Chisholm

of Strathglass, who, on hearing of his death, gave birth to a seven-months' child,

JOHN MACLEOD, the immediate progenitor of this family, and from whom their patronymic of "Sliochd Ian 'ic Leoid." He was brought up by his grandfather, John Borb, sixth Chief of Macleod, at Pabbay in Harris, on the footing of the future heir to the estates, but, being quite young when his grandfather died, and his father having been killed before John was born, his uncle William had no difficulty in setting his claims aside, and successfully asserting his own to the Chiefship and estates of the Clan. For the safety of young John it was found necessary, in the circumstances, to remove him to the protection of Roderick Macleod, VII. of Lewis, who was married to his aunt, Margaret, daughter of his grandfather, John Borb, VI. of Harris and Dunvegan. Roderick of the Lewis kept the boy with himself until he came of age, when he married his protector's niece, and received along with her as her dowry the lands of Waternish, in the Isle of Skye, at that time the property of the Macleods of Lewis. By his wife, John Macleod, now proprietor of Waternish, had a son,

TORMOD MACLEOD of Waternish, a man described as of great ability and consequence among his Clansmen. He married a daughter of Fraser of Glenelg, a cadet of the house of Lovat, with issue—a son,

JOHN MACLEOD of Waternish, better known in the history and traditions of his own country as "Ian a Chuail Bhàin," or John of the Fair Hair. On the death of William, IX. of Macleod, and in the absence of his brothers, Donald and Tormod, the claims of Ian a Chuail Bhàin's family to the Chiefship are said to have been acknowledged by the Clan on two distinct occasions [see p. 30]. John supported Queen Mary, and that fact contributed largely to the subsequent ruin of his family, and gave the final blow to his claim to the estates and Chiefship of the Clan.

He married Sheila, daughter of Archibald Macdonald

of Knock, Sleat, Isle of Skye, with issue, ten sons and four daughters—

1. Tormod Macleod, who married a daughter of Macdonald of Kintyre, with issue—three sons. He died before his father, Ian a Chuail Bhàin; and his sons, Tormod, Donald, and John, were quite young at the date of his death. They were afterwards assassinated, while mere boys, by their blood-thirsty uncle, Ian Dubh, who slew them in the Castle of Dunvegan with his own hands.

2. John Macleod, the famous “Ian Dubh,” otherwise “Ian Og,” of Minginish, who waded through the blood of his relatives to take possession of Dunvegan Castle, putting those in charge of it, and all who opposed him, to the sword. He treacherously assassinated his cousin and Chief, Donald, X. of Macleod, with all his body-guard, and made an unsuccessful attempt on the life of Donald’s brother, Tormod, XI. of Macleod. He also murdered his own brother, Donald Breac. When Tormod, XI. of Macleod, returned home to obtain possession of the family estates, Ian Dubh shut himself up in the Castle of Dunvegan. The warder, however, agreed to surrender the stronghold to its rightful owner, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that the usurper, by the assistance of his four foster-brothers, effected his escape through a passage which led from his sleeping apartment to the landing-rock, where his galley lay moored close to the Castle walls. He at once set sail for Pabbay in Harris, but was refused admittance to the Castle there. He then sailed for Ireland, where, after wandering about in a destitute condition for some time, he was captured by one of the O’Donell Chiefs, who had him put to death in 1559 by driving a red-hot iron bar through his bowels. The monster was married, but he died without any surviving issue. An account of his life, and of the more outrageous crimes and assassinations committed by him, will be found recorded in greater detail in the history of the MACLEODS OF DUNVEGAN, at pp. 29-36 of this work.

3. Donald Breac Macleod, who had been tutor to his

young nephew, Tormod, son of Tormod Macleod, eldest son and heir of Ian a Chuail Bhàin; his eldest brother, Ian Dubh, being passed over in consequence of his bad character. Donald Breac married a daughter of Mackinnon of Mackinnon, with issue—several sons and daughters, all of whom were put to death by order of Tormod, XI. of Macleod, who ordered the massacre of every member of the family of Meidle and Minginish, out of resentment for the crimes and assassinations committed by Ian Dubh, and in order once and for ever to settle their claim to the Chiefship of the Macleods and to the family estates. Donald Breac himself was killed, as we have already seen, by his brother, Ian Dubh, in Dunvegan Castle, at the same time that he assassinated his nephews, the three young sons of his eldest brother Tormod.

4. Alexander, who had charge of the Castle of Pabbay during the lifetime of his father. He married Marsaline, daughter of Torquil MacGilliemhuire or Morrison, Brieve of the Lewis, with issue—several sons and daughters, who, with himself, were all massacred by order of Tormod Macleod, XI. of Macleod, except the youngest son, Tormod, who escaped, as shall be hereafter described, and who carried on the representation of the family.

5. William, who resided at Greshornish, and married with issue—all of whom suffered, with their father, the same fate as their relatives at the hands of their Chief.

6. Magnus, who lived at Hamer. He was also married with issue. He and they were massacred on the same night as all the rest of his race by order of Tormod, XI. of Macleod, when he succeeded to the Chiefship of the Clan.

7. Allan, who resided at Skellibost in Harris, where he and all his family were put to death by a pre-arranged plan the same night that the other members of his house were massacred in the Isle of Skye.

The other sons, the 8th, 9th, and 10th, whose names are not known, were similarly put to death, none of them leaving issue.

11. A daughter, who married Campbell of Strond, in

Harris, with issue, among others—Jan Liath Mac Mhic Kenneth, from whom are descended a well-known family of Campbells, some of whom were in Strond as late as 1850.

12. A daughter, married Mackenzie in Lochalsh, and escaped the massacre.

13. A daughter, who married one of the Macdonalds of Benbecula, and escaped the fate of her kindred.

14. Another daughter was a nun at Rodel, where she also was massacred. Tormod, XI. of Macleod, who denied that he had any knowledge of or participation in the foul deed, and pretended to be very much horrified at what had occurred, had the person who killed her cruelly put to death.

Ian a Chuail Bhàin was succeeded as representative of the family by his grandson,

TORMOD MACLEOD, the youngest son of his fourth son, Alexander Macleod, and who alone of the Sliochd Ian Mhic Leoid escaped the massacre of his race. He had been sent to Wia, in the Island of Taransay, on the west coast of Harris, to be nursed by one “Bethag Nighean Choinnich Mac Sheumais Mhic-Gillemuire,” who, as well as her husband, Finlay MacGillemuire, was nearly related to the child’s mother. This Finlay was among those who took the oath to Tormod XI. of Macleod to extirpate the Sliochd Ian Mhic Leoid, but he was in his heart a friend to the doomed race; for, according to the ideas of every Highlander, he considered his foster son had a better right to his love and protection than his own offspring. When the day arrived on which he was instructed to kill the boy, he was greatly depressed in spirit, and, when his *dalt* or foster-child climbed on his knee and kissed him, Finlay, in an agony of grief, gave vent to his feelings in convulsive sobs. The only reply he could make to the enquiries of his wife as to the cause of his agitation was, “Fly and save him.” She at once understood this to refer to her *dalt*, so she got her two sons to launch a small boat, and, taking young Tormod Macleod in her arms, she ordered them to land her on the opposite coast at

a place called Aird Husabost. From thence she proceeded across Harris, and, on reaching Stockinish, on the east side of that Island, she got a man, who had just returned from murdering the family of the doomed race who resided at Skellibost, to take her across in a boat to Skye, offering as his reward a large silver brooch, which, however, he refused, and which was long preserved among the Morrisons descended from her.

Bethag, with the child, landed in Troternish, and, after being nearly captured by Tormod Macleod's followers, made her way to Duntulm Castle, where the boy's relative, Donald Gorm Macdonald then resided, and, entering the hall where the Chief was sitting, she placed the orphan at his feet, saying, "There is all that remains of Sliochd Ian Mhic Leoid; to your protection I resign him." Donald Gorm most humanely and generously protected and educated young Tormod, and gave him the lands of Kingsburgh, which continued in his family until he and his offspring returned to the Macleod country, when the property of Kingsburgh went to MacIan Mhic-Sheumais Macdonald.

Tormod Macleod joined Donald Gorm Macdonald and his race in all their feuds, at one of which he was ultimately killed at Inverknockurich, Mull, in an engagement fought with the Macleans.

He married Catherine, daughter of James Macdonald, second son of Domhnall Gruamach MacDhomhnuill Ghal-laich Macdonald, IV. of Sleat, the founder of the family of Kingsburgh, by whom he carried on the Sliochd Ian Mhic Leod, having, besides several daughters, three sons—

I. William Macleod, who returned to the Macleod country on the accession of Rory Mòr to the Chiefship, where he soon after died, having married and had a son, William Macleod of Meidle, a man of great abilities, and a particular friend of Rory Mòr of Dunvegan, who did all in his power to repair the injury done to the race of Ian a Chuail Bhàin; for, when he executed a deed of settlement, he named his own brother Alexander as his heir,



and, failing him and his heirs, he settled his property upon this William Macleod of Meidle and his heirs male. William, however, died without issue.

2. Donald Macleod, who also returned to the Macleod country, and resided at Fasach in Waternish, where his descendants continued to reside until about 1850, when the last of them died. One of them was William Bàn Macleod, who was a great genealogist. He died at the house of William Macleod, of Luskintyre, about 1800.

3. Alexander Macleod, called Alastair Mor, who also returned to the Macleod country, and resided at Leisal, in Bhreatal. He married Mary, daughter of Mackinnon of Strath, and had three sons—(1) William Macleod, who was killed at the battle of Worcester, leaving several sons whose descendants are now extinct, the last having been Donald Macleod, of Canna, whom Dr. Johnson met when in Skye, during his tour to the Hebrides. (2) Alexander Macleod, called Alastair Og of Glendale, who was mortally wounded at the battle of Worcester, where he was made prisoner, and died a few days after of his wounds. This Alexander became the progenitor of the Macleods of Glendale, of whom presently. (3) Donald Macleod, known in the history and traditions of the country as Donald Glas of Drynoch, progenitor of the family of that name, and of whom in their order. The representation of all the elder branches descended from Ian a Chuail Bhàin having become extinct, the male representation of his branch devolved on

#### THE MACLEODS OF GLENDALE,

The first of whom was—

I. ALEXANDER MACLEOD, second son of Alexander Macleod of Leisal, the latter of whom was third son of Tormod Macleod—the only one of Ian a Chuail Bhain's ten sons who escaped the massacre of his race on the succession, and at the instance of Tormod, XI. of Macleod, as already described. Alexander Og Macleod, first of Glendale, married Marsaline, daughter of Macneil

of Barra, with issue—(1) Alexander, his heir and successor, and several younger sons, from whom descended the Macleods of Feorlig, Vatten, and several minor branches of the Clan.

Alexander, first of Glendale, was succeeded by his eldest son,

II. ALEXANDER MACLEOD, also, like his father, known as Alastair Og. When a mere youth, he fought at the battle of Worcester, where, along with his father, he was taken prisoner. He, however, managed to effect his escape on the same day on which his father died. He married Flora, daughter of Mackenzie of Gairloch, with issue—

1. Tormod, his heir and successor; (2) William; and (3) Murdoch. Of both the two younger sons, there are many descendants in North Carolina, whither they emigrated.

Alexander was succeeded by his eldest son,

III. TORMOD MACLEOD, who supported James II. with several others of the Clan, and was killed at the Battle of the Boyne. He married Moire or Marion, daughter of Kenneth Campbell of Strond, with issue—

1. Norman, his successor.

2. Alexander, who left no issue.

3. Donald, from whom were descended the Macleods of Balmeanach, of whom was Major John Macleod, of the Scots Brigade in Holland, who met Dr. Johnson in Skye in 1773.

4. Kenneth, from whom descended the Macleods of Arnisdale, Ratagan, etc., and of whom were William Macleod, who was alive in 1772, and Donald, who was living about 1800.

Tormod was succeeded by his eldest son—

IV. NORMAN MACLEOD, who in early life entered the service of the King of Spain, where he attained the rank of Colonel. He returned to Scotland with Allan Macdonald of Clanranald, and joined in the Stuart Rising in 1715. He was wounded at the battle of Sheriffmuir,

but afterwards made his escape to France, where he resided for several years. He then returned to Scotland, but, being detected in another Jacobite plot, was again obliged to fly to France, where he died at Sedan. He married Rachel, daughter of Allan Macdonald of Benbecula, with issue—

V. JOHN MACLEOD, who returned to Scotland after his father's death, but again left it, and entered the service of the Elector of Hesse-Cassel, and died there, having attained the rank of Colonel. He married Effrica, daughter of Malcolm Macqueen of Flodigaray, with issue—

1. John Macleod, called "Ian Bàn MacIain Mhic Thor-moid," who was a Captain in the Scots Brigade in Holland, and was killed at the battle of Fontenoy, leaving a son, John, who died without issue.

2. Alexander, who became representative of the family.

3. Malcolm, who lived at Skirinish, in Skye, where he died. His family emigrated to North Carolina.

4. William, a Captain in the Black Watch, killed in Glasgow, in a duel, by Colonel Beresford, without issue.

John was succeeded as representative of the family by his second son,

VI. ALEXANDER MACLEOD, who lived in his youth in France, where he was much noticed and respected by the exiled Stuart family. He afterwards returned to Scotland, and settled for a time in Skye, but, having engaged in one of the plots to restore the Stuarts, he was obliged to return to France. He, however, again returned to his native island, and died at a great age at Ebst, Isle of Skye. He married, first, in Paris, a Miss Humberston, without issue; and, secondly, Christina, daughter of John Macleod, V. of Drynoch, with issue—

1. John Macleod, his heir.

2. Alexander, who lived at Bhreatal, in Skye, and whose descendants emigrated to America.

3. Roderick, who was killed at Falkirk in 1745.

He was succeeded as representative of the family by

VII. JOHN MACLEOD, who was brought up at the

Court of Saint Germain, and was page to the Chevalier de St. George. In 1745 he was appointed Aide-de-Camp to Prince Charles Edward, when he sailed with him for Scotland, and followed him through all his fortunes. He was wounded at the battle of Culloden, and was outlawed, but he returned by stealth to Skye, where he stayed some time. He again went back to France, where he remained until he received a Royal pardon. He then returned, with broken fortunes and ruined constitution, to his native land, and lived on a farm which the Chief of Mackinnon lent him; but he emigrated in 1770 to America, where Government gave him a grant of land, and died at the age of 75 in North Carolina. He married Margaret, daughter of Lachlan Macqueen of Totterome, Isle of Skye, with issue—

1. Æneas, who married a Miss Cathcart, and had a son, Donald, who died without issue.

2. William, who became the representative of the family.

3. Kenneth, who was a Captain in the Royal Army, and was killed in America during the War of Independence.

John was succeeded as representative of the family by his second and only surviving son,

VIII. WILLIAM MACLEOD, who was attending the University of Edinburgh when his father emigrated to America, whither he declined to accompany him. He took the degree of M.D., and resided in Harris, and died at Borline, in Skye, on the 10th August, 1811, aged sixty-one. A letter of his, dated 7th June, 1799, and addressed to Mr. Campbell Mackintosh, solicitor, Inverness, is docketed "Captain Macleod of Glendale." In this letter he says—"You wrote me that I could not get a tack without going to law. I wrote you in return to give them up Mr. Campbell's letter, which I thought would settle all. I love peace, yet I must be at law. I observe by the *Advertiser* that the sale of this part is put off. My children are in the small pock, which prevents my going south." In another letter, dated the same day and addressed to the same party, he says—"I am happy to observe you settled

the rents on the old footing of the old tack. I have no idea of ever soliciting another tack, and I dare say I never will be offered one." In another letter of the same date he forwards a draft for £120 sterling, "to be given William Inglis, Provost of Inverness, for his draft on the British Linen Company in favour of Mansfield, Ramsay, and Company, Bankers, Edinburgh, to be placed to the credit of my account."

He married Isabella, eldest daughter of Alexander Macleod of Luskintyre, and through her, who had had the lease of the farm made over to her by her brother Captain John Macleod, he was styled "of Luskintyre." By Isabella Macleod he had issue—

1. Alexander Macleod, who married Eliza, daughter of Major Macdonald of Kishorn, and died without issue.

2. John Macleod, who, at the early age of 21, was Physician to the Forces in Spain, and died at Portsmouth in 1814, on his way home, without issue.

3. Bannatyne William Macleod, M.D., who carried on the representation of the family.

4. Donald Macleod, who entered the 1st Royal Scots Regiment of Foot, and was killed in 1817 while leading the Grenadier Company at the battle of Mahidpore, where on account of his great height (6 feet 7 inches), his head was shot off by a cannon-ball. He married Mary, daughter of John Stuart, with issue—Donald Macleod, who was born in 1816. He was educated at Pimlico Grammar School, and practised as an Advocate with much success in the Courts of Bengal, and especially in Burmah, where he was appointed Legal Adviser to the Government. He returned to Britain as one of the suite of the Nepaulese Ambassador, Jung Bahadur, in 1850. He was a man of great size. In 1840 he married Caroline, daughter of Richard Millbanke Tilghman, of the Bengal Civil Service, and died at Rangoon in 1869, leaving issue—(1) DONALD GRANT MACLEOD, his present representative, who was born in 1842, and educated at Cheltenham College, and at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. and LL.B. in 1865,

M.A. and LL.M. in 1882, and was made LL.D. in 1887. He was called to the Bar by the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple in 1865, and is now Judge of Maulmain, Burmah. He married, first, in July, 1873, Julia Gordon, younger daughter of the late Walter Snadden, of Maulmain, with issue—(*a*) Marion, who died in 1875; (*b*) Morna; (*c*) Sheila; and (*d*) Fiona, who died in 1884. His first wife having died in April, 1884, he married, secondly, in November, 1885, Alice May, eldest daughter of Francis Limouzin, of Maulmain, with issue—(*e*) a daughter, Muriel. (2) Norman, born in 1844, died in 1845. (3) Adela Caroline Eliza, who in 1867 married John MacNeale Donnelly, of the Indian Medical Service, and who is now a Deputy Surgeon-General and C.B. (4) Hugh Tilghman, who was born in 1847. He was educated at Harrow, afterwards served in the 79th Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders, and now resides at Kimberley, South Africa. In 1873 he married Mary (who died in 1887), daughter of John Knight, with issue—(*a*) Constance Mary Hyacinth, who died in 1874; (*b*) Norman Ross, born in 1876; and (*c*) Isabel Mary, who died in 1882. (5) Louisa Cary, who died in 1853. (6) Norman Charles, who was born in 1850, and educated at Christ's Hospital and Trinity Hall, Cambridge. He was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1873, and went out to practice his profession in Burmah, where he died the same year. (7) Constance Mary Caroline, who in 1871 married Luther Marsden, with issue.

5. Evan Macleod, who entered the H.E.I.C.S., and died in India.

6. Margaret, who married, first, the Rev. Alexander Campbell, with issue, and, secondly, Alexander Macleod, with issue—a daughter, who married Colonel Richard Horsford, with issue.

William Macleod of Glendale and Luskintyre, was succeeded as representative of the family by

IX. BANNATYNE WILLIAM MACLEOD, M.D., who entered the Indian Medical Service, and rose to be



Inspector-General of Army Hospitals in Bengal. He married, with issue—

1. Caroline, who married E. H. Morland, of the Bengal Civil Service.

He married, secondly, Louisa, daughter of Harry Taylor, of the Bengal Civil Service, with issue—

2. Harry John Bannatyne, born in 1824.

3. Frances, who married Colonel Stuart F. Graham, of the Bengal Staff Corps, with issue.

Dr. Bannatyne Macleod died in 1857, when he was succeeded, as representative of the family, by his only son,

X. HARRY JOHN BANNATYNE MACLEOD, born in 1824. He entered the Royal Artillery, in which he rose to the rank of Colonel. He married Christian, daughter of Edward Cox, of New South Wales, with issue—

1. Bannatyne Macleod.

2. Harry John Macleod, a Lieutenant in the 24th regiment, South Wales Borderers.

3. William Bernera Macleod.

4. Christiana; and 5, Jane.

Harry John Bannatyne Macleod died in 1877, when he was succeeded, as the present representative of the Macleods of Glendale and Luskintyre, by his eldest son,

XI. BANNATYNE MACLEOD, who was born in 1860, and entered the Madras Civil Service in 1881. In July, 1882, he married Morgiana Lilian, daughter of Colonel W. N. Wroughton, Madras Staff Corps, with issue—

1. William Bannatyne Macleod.

2. Margarita Chamier.

## THE MACLEODS OF DRYNOCH.

THIS family is descended from John Borb, VI. of Macleod, by his wife, Margaret, grand-daughter of the Earl of Douglas. Malcolm had two sons (twins), first, William, who succeeded him, and, second, Tormod or Norman, from whom the Macleods of Meidle or Meodle, Glendale, Drynoch, Balmeanach, and others. Tormod married a daughter of Chisholm of Strathglass, with issue—

JOHN MACLEOD, progenitor of the families of Meidle or Meodle, and of Glendale. He married a niece of Roderick Macleod, VII. of the Lewis, with issue—

TORMOD MACLEOD of Waternish, who married a daughter of Fraser of Glenelg, a cadet of the Lovat family, with issue—

JOHN MACLEOD, known as “Ian a Chuail Bhàin” who married Sheila, daughter of Archibald Macdonald of Knock, in Sleat, with issue—(1) Tormod, who married a daughter of Macdonald of Kintyre, but died before his father, leaving issue—three sons, all murdered in their youth by their uncle “Ian Dubh.” (2) Ian Dubh Macleod of Minginish, who afterwards died without issue, in Ireland, a fugitive from justice for his many atrocious crimes, many of them against his own family and relations. Ian a Chuail Bhàin had several other sons and daughters, all of whom and their families were massacred by order of Norman Macleod, XI. of Macleod, except the youngest,

TORMOD MACLEOD, son of Alexander, fourth son of Ian a Chuail Bhàin, who escaped the massacre of his relations and carried on the representation of the family. [See MACLEODS OF MEIDLE AND GLENDALE.] He was killed at Inverknockurich, in Mull, in an engagement

there fought between Donald Gorm Macdonald of Sleat and the Macleans. Having married Katharine, daughter of James Macdonald, second son of Domhnall Gruamach MacDhomhnuill Ghallaich Macdonald, IV. of Sleat and progenitor of the Macdonalds of Kingsburgh, he had issue—(1) William Macleod of Meidle. (2) Donald Macleod, who, and his descendants, resided at Fasach, in Waternish, where the last of his representatives died in 1850. (3) Alexander Macleod, called Alastair Mor, who resided at Leisal, in Bhreatail, and married Mary, daughter of Mackinnon of Strath, with issue—(1) William Macleod, killed at the battle of Worcester, in 1651. (2) Alexander Macleod, called “Alastair Og,” to distinguish him from his father, mortally wounded at the battle of Worcester, progenitor of the Macleods of Glendale; and (3) Donald Macleod, known in the history of the country as

I. DONALD GLAS MACLEOD, first of the family of Drynoch, one of the most distinguished warriors of his day. He was killed at a comparatively early age, at Carinish, North Uist, in Rory Mor’s time, in a feud between the Macleods of Harris and Dunvegan and the Macdonalds of Sleat. Donald married, with issue, and was succeeded by his son,

II. JOHN MACLEOD, known among the Highlanders as “Ian MacDhomh’uill Ghlais.” He married Catherine Campbell, with issue—

1. Alexander, his heir and successor.

2. A daughter, who married Alexander Macleod, IV. of Raasay, with issue—Alexander, who carried on the representation of that family.

3. A daughter, who married Ranald or Reginald, X. of Glengarry (on record in 1695), with issue, among others, the famous warrior, Alastair Dubh, who during his father’s life fought so bravely at the head of his Clan at the battle of Killiecrankie, and afterwards distinguished himself at Sheriffmuir, where he was attacked by two English horsemen and would have been killed by them were it not for the opportune arrival of young Alastair of Drynoch, when

the two horsemen were quickly disposed of by the two Highlanders. Glengarry knew from his dress that his deliverer was a Skyeman. He asked his name. The reply was an old Gaelic adage. Glengarry was answered by an equally quaint old proverb, also in Gaelic, when the two recognised each other as relations. Alastair Dubh of Glengarry died in 1724, leaving issue, John, who became XII. of Glengarry and carried on the representation of that family.

4. Margaret, who married John Macleod, VIII. of Gesto, with issue.

5. Catherine, who married William Macleod of Oze and Waterstein, who succeeded as II. of Hamer.

6. Anne, who married Roderick "Mac Ian," of Camuscross, second son of John Macdonald, II. of Castleton, from whom the Macdonalds of Tormore are descended.

John, according to an inscription on a grave-stone in the old burying-ground at Drynoch, died in 1688,\* when he was succeeded by his son,

III. ALEXANDER MACLEOD, third of Drynoch. He married Margaret Macleod, with issue—

IV. NORMAN MACLEOD, fourth of Drynoch, known

\* The following is a copy of this inscription:—"Here lies the corpse of John Macleod of Drynoch, who deceased August, 1688, and of his spouse C. Campbell. He was the son of Donald Glass Macleod killed at Carnish; also John's son Alexander and his spouse M. Macleod are interred under this stone, whose son Norman died in Glenelg, is buried there, as are also Norman's son Donald and grandson Norman, all of the farm of Drynoch."

There is also the following inscription on a gravestone in the same churchyard:—"Underneath are the remains of Donald Macdonald Macleod, Lieutenant, 50th Regiment, Madras I., who died in Drynoch 1837, seventh son of Norman Macleod of Drynoch and Alexandrina Macleod of Bernera, whose oldest son Donald died in Gravesend, 1824, Captain 78th Regiment and Major in the Army. Norman died in Java, 1814, a Captain in the same corps. Alexander died in Forbes, 1828, a Major in the 12th Regiment B.N.I. John died a Captain in 78 Regiment on passage home from Ceylon. Roderick William Keir died in Killegray from a hurt received on board the "Belvidera" Frigate, on N.A. Station, in which he was midshipman.

Forbes Brodie died in Madras a Lieut: 12th Regiment N.I. This stone is dedicated to the memory of the above named by their sorrowing mother and her surviving sons, Martin, late of 27th, 19th, and 25th Regiments, now of Drynoch, and Charles, now of Glendulochan. 1839."

among his countrymen as "Tormod Mor." He removed to the farm of Ellanriach, Glenelg, about the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century, he having been sent there by his Chief, Macleod of Macleod, to keep order on that portion of his estates, which was exposed to the raids of the Lochaber cattle-lifters of those days, and often "spoiled" by them. In consequence of his position here he became known as "Tormod nam Mart," or Norman of the Cows. He built a good house at Ellanriach, where his family afterwards resided, and the old house at Drynoch was allowed to fall into decay. Norman married a Miss Ross, with issue—

1. Norman Og, who was killed in the wars of Germany. He died before his father, unmarried.

2. John, who succeeded his father.

3. Alexander, who married Penelope, daughter of Mackinnon of Mackinnon, with issue, Norman, who died young and unmarried, and a daughter, Penelope, who married the Rev. Kenneth Macaulay, grand-uncle to the celebrated Thomas Babington, Lord Macaulay. Alexander died before his brother John.

4. Anne, who married John Stewart, Inverness, from whom was descended Lieutenant-General Sir John Stewart, who in 1806 commanded at the battle of Maida, and his more distinguished namesake, Major-General Sir Donald Stewart, Commander-in-Chief in India during the late Abyssinian War.

Norman married, secondly, a Miss M. Mackenzie, with issue—

5. Donald, who succeeded his brother John in the lands of Drynoch.

6. Roderick, D.D., who was born in 1755, and died in 1846. He took Holy Orders in the Church of England, and was for forty years rector of St. Anne's Church, Soho, London. He married a sister of Admiral Middleton, a cadet of the family of the old Earls of Middleton and Gainsborough, with issue—(1) George Macleod, who died unmarried. (2) The Rev. Charles Macleod, who

also died unmarried. (3) Norman Macleod, of the Bengal Civil Service, who, born in 1784, married in 1809 Eleanora-Sophia, daughter of George Dennis, and sister of the late General George Dennis of the Bengal Horse Artillery, with issue, in addition to several children who died young, (a) Norman Chester Macleod, of the Bengal Engineers, who served under Durand in Cabul, where he took the leading part in blowing up the gates of Guznee in 1839. He married with issue—a daughter, Marie, who married Mr. Pugh, of Wales. Norman Chester Macleod died in 1875. (b) George Macleod, who was Field Engineer of the Scinde Force. He died in 1839. (c) William Emondstone Macleod, now a retired Major-General of the Bombay Army, married, with issue, George Macleod, who died in 1883. (d) Helen Macleod, who married Mr. Hodgson; and (e) Alexandra, who died in 1854. (4) Arthur, in the Royal Navy. (5) Jessie. (6) Wilhelmina. (7) Margaret Gambier, who married her cousin, Roderick Macleod, M.D., of London, a member of the Talisker family.

7. Flora, who married Archibald Macdonell, son of the famous Colla Bàn Macdonell of Barisdale, while he was in hiding after the battle of Culloden. She afterwards lived with him for several years in prison in Edinburgh, and had issue—one son, Coll, who became fourth of Barisdale, and two daughters, Flora, who married Donald Macleod, of Ratagan, and Catherine, who married Mr. Robertson, a Glasgow merchant, with issue—General Robertson, and one daughter, unmarried. The widow, Flora Macleod of Drynoch, survived her husband, Archibald Macdonell, who died before 1790, upwards of twenty-five years, dying at an advanced age, at Achtertyre, Lochalsh, in the beginning of February, 1815.

8. Penelope, who married Olaus Macleod, Scallisaig, Glenelg, with issue, Olaus, who married without issue; and several daughters, some of whose descendants are still living.

Tormod Mor died in 1748 and was buried, as were also his son Donald and his grandson Norman, in Glenelg,



where in the churchyard the following inscription is cut on his tomb :—

Normano Macleod de Drynoch,  
viro inter suos primario ; inter alienos laudalissimo ; spectate  
fidei ; hospitalitatis exemplo ; inopum atque infelicium asylo ;  
homini ad amicitiam nato, parenti dulcissimo ; de omnibus  
bene ; de liberis optime merito ; Donaldus filius lubentissime  
posuit anno aerae vulgaris,  
MDCCLXXXVIII.

He was succeeded by his second and eldest surviving son,  
V. JOHN MACLEOD, fifth of Drynoch and second of  
Ellanriach, a most accomplished man, and an excellent  
poet. He was on the most intimate terms with Sir  
Alexander Macdonald of Sleat, who died in 1746. On  
that occasion John Macleod composed the following to  
Sir Alexander's memory—

He said, who dwells in uncreated light,  
Let Art and Nature by their skill and might  
To form a model for the human kind,  
A body faultless and a faultless mind.  
Obedient Nature summoned all her force,  
And Art, indulgent, opened every source,  
The rival Sisters all their gifts prepare,  
And grant their hero more than mortal share ;  
My dear Macdonald was that very man ;  
Let Malice point one blemish if she can.  
Great, good, and regular his every part,  
His form majestic, God-like was his heart,  
No sordid passion harboured in his breast,  
A place too sacred for so mean a guest.  
His honour spotless ; sacred was his word—  
His friend was master of his purse and sword,  
His acts of goodness envious tongues must tell  
Were such as few can equal, none excel.  
In all things just, with knowledge most refined,  
Polite his manner, easy, unconfined  
He's gone in bloom of youth, O, sad decree,  
Lost to the world, Alas ! and lost to me.

Drynoch married, with issue—

1. Marion, who married Charles Og Mackinnon, first of  
Keanuachdrach.
2. Christina, who, as his second wife, married Alexander,  
VI. of Glendale, with issue.

John was succeeded, at his death, by his next surviving brother,

VI. DONALD MACLEOD, sixth of Drynoch and third of Ellanriach, who, in 1745, then a youth, was left in charge of the Glenelg Militia. It is said that the first intimation he had of the battle of Culloden having been fought and lost was the arrival of his brother John during the night, mounted on the fully accoutred charger of an English dragoon, which was before morning, sent off in charge of a faithful retainer, and put into the morass of Gleannan, to avoid detection.

Donald married Catherine, sister of the Rev. Hugh Munro, minister of Uig, Lewis, and representative of the Munros of Eriboll, Sutherlandshire, with issue—

1. Norman, his heir and successor.
2. Jessie, who married Captain Macleod of Stein, a natural son of Norman Macleod, XIX. of Macleod, and was drowned shortly after her marriage in the Bay of Talisker.
3. Anne, who married the Rev. Colin Maciver, minister of Glenelg, with issue.
4. Marion, who married Angus Shaw, with issue.

Donald was succeeded by his only son,

VII. NORMAN MACLEOD, seventh of Drynoch and last of Ellanriach. When Macleod of Macleod sold the estate of Glenelg to Mr. Bruce, a London merchant, Norman foreseeing the rise in rents, and the changes which must take place in the circumstances of the people owing to the rage, which was then daily increasing, for the creation of large sheep-farms, advised the small tenants to emigrate in a body to Canada, while they could do so comfortably and in fairly good circumstances, in consequence of the high prices they could at that time obtain for their cattle. Most of the people took his advice. He had resolved to accompany them, but by the persuasion of friends he was led to change his mind, and remained at home. He afterwards took the farm of Knock, in Sleat, Isle of Skye, where he died in 1828, and was buried in the churchyard of Glenelg.

He married Alexandrina, eldest daughter of the famous Donald Macleod of Bernera, by his third marriage, with issue, nine sons and six daughters—

1. Donald Macleod, his heir and successor. He was a Captain in the 78th Highlanders, and Major in the army; was present at Assaye; commanded the Grenadier Company at the storming of Fort-Cornelius and Terquarta in Java. He was favourably mentioned in Sir S. Auchmurty's dispatches. He married a daughter of Sir Berners Plaistow, of London, with issue—Norman Berners, married, with issue; and Alexander Nixon, both of whom died in America. He died at Gravesend in 1824.

2. Norman Macleod, a Captain in the 78th Highlanders. He was present at the taking of Cape of Good Hope, at several actions in India, and at the taking of Java, where he died unmarried in 1814.

3. Alexander Macleod, a Major in the 12th Regiment, Bengal Native Infantry. He commanded the Cuttac Legion, 10,000 strong of all arms, and saw much active service in Bengal. He volunteered and was present at the capture of Java and was for several years Resident at Souraheya and Bangi Wangi. He married Louisa, daughter of Henry Brown, of the Indian Civil Service, a cadet of the family of Oranmore and Brown, with issue—(1) Eneas Henry, who died young; (2) Alexandrina Eliza, who married her cousin, Henry William White of Monar and Lentrán, with issue—(a) Henry Lewis White, who, on the death of his cousin, William Henry Langford Brooke, of Mere Hall, Cheshire, succeeded to his property, and assumed the name of Langford Brooke. He married Leslie, daughter of F. Hanbury Williams, of Coldbrook, Monmouthshire, with issue, one daughter. (b) Norman. (c) Montague. (d) Charles Reelster. (e) William Princep. (f) Christina, who married James Princep, of the Indian Civil Service, with issue, one son and four daughters. (g) Catherine, who married James Grant Peterkin, of Grange Hall, Morayshire, with issue, three sons and one daughter. (h) Edith. (3) Catherine Mary, who married, first, Thomas

Langford Brook, of Mere Hall, Cheshire, with issue—one son, William Henry Langford, who died at the age of thirty-two, unmarried, leaving his estate, on his mother's death, to his cousin, Henry Lewis White, son of Henry William White of Monar and Lentrán. She married, secondly, the Hon. George Keane, Admiral, R.N., without issue. (4) Louisa Fanny Sybella, who, as his second wife, married Æneas Mackintosh, younger of Mackintosh, late of Daviot, with issue—Alexander, who married Annie, daughter of S. Barkley, of the Indian Civil Service, with issue, four sons and one daughter; Æneas Henry, accidentally shot in 1872, at the age of nineteen; Lewis, who died young; Duncan Houston; Mary Marion, who married Charles Granville, eldest son of Sir Arthur Kekewich, a judge in Chancery, with issue; Louisa Caroline Campbell, who died young in 1872; Charlotte Eva; and Alexandra Graham, who married Robert Charles, son of John Graham-Campbell of Shirvan, Argyleshire, with issue. (5) Christina Rebecca. Major Alexander Macleod died at Forres in 1828.

4. John Macleod, a Captain in the 78th Highlanders, with whom he served in Java, Bengal, and Ceylon. He also served with the Royals at Flushing. He died on his way home from Ceylon.

5. Martin Donald Macleod, who served in Moira's Regiment, the 27th, in Spain and the south of France, for which he received a medal and four clasps—Nive, Nivelles, Orthes, and Toulouse; in Canada in 1814; and in the north of France in 1815. He also served in the 79th Cameron Highlanders, in the Army of Occupation, and was with the 25th Regiment in the West Indies. He married Jane, youngest daughter of H. Fry of Frybrook, County Roscommon, Ireland, with issue—(1) Norman Torquil, who married in 1857 his cousin, Margaret Baker, daughter of Henry Fry of Frybrook, with issue—(a) Martin Donald Macleod, born in 1861, and now in the north-west of Canada. He married in December, 1888, Mary, daughter of Dr. Hillary, Aurora, Ontario, Canada.

(*b*) Norman Torquil ; (*c*) William Baldwin ; (*d*) Henry Fry ; (*e*) Robert Roe ; (*f*) James Farquharson ; (*g*) Elizabeth Jane Muriella, who, in 1887, married Walter Dick ; (*h*) Margaret Jane Anne, who married Christopher Conway, son of J. Beverley Robinson, late Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, with issue ; and (*i*) Alexa. Mackenzie. Norman Torquil died in October, 1885. (2) Henry Augustine Fitzgerald, Civil Engineer in Canada, who married Emily, daughter of E. Murney of Belleville, Canada, with issue, a daughter, who died young. (3) James Farquharson, Lieutenant-Colonel, and late Commissioner of the Mounted Police of Canada ; and was created a C.M.G. for services rendered at the Red River Expedition. He is now a judge in the North-west Territory of the Canadian Dominion. He married Mary Drever, Winnipeg, with issue—one son and four daughters—Norman Torquil, Helen Rothery, Mary and Roma (twins), and Jane. (4) The Rev. Donald John Forbes, Rector of Hope-in-Worthen, Shropshire, who married Mary, daughter of Thomas Fuller, D.D., Bishop of Niagara, with issue—Mary Elizabeth, who married John, son of the late Hon. John Ross of Devonport, Toronto ; Alexa. Mackenzie, Margaret Baldwin, and Flora Abigail. (5) Elizabeth Alexandrina, who married, first, the Rev. W. Greig, and, secondly, the Rev. T. H. M. Bartlett, without issue. (6) Alexandrina Barbara, who married the late Hugh Munro Mackenzie of Distington, Whitehaven, son of the late John Mackenzie, a cadet of the family of Letterewe, sometime Sheriff of the Lewis, with issue—Martin Edward, born 1863 ; Hugh Munro Macleod ; Christina Elizabeth ; Jane Macleod ; and Catherine Marion Munro. (7) Catherine Munro, who married the Rev. J. Digges Latouche, with issue—William Martin, born 1854, and married Lucy, daughter of Canon Hockin of Phillack ; James Norman ; Thomas ; Mary Alexa. ; and Grace. (8) Margaret Fry, who married the late W. A. Baldwin of Mashquatch, Ontario, with issue—Martin Donald, born in 1860, and died unmarried in 1884 ; Lawrence Heyden ; Norman Macleod ; Charles Macleod ; John Macleod ; Jane Macleod,

who married Martin Grahame ; Elizabeth Alexandrina Macleod ; Anna Maria Macleod ; and Margaret Macleod. Martin Donald Macleod emigrated to Canada in 1845, where he died at Drynoch, Ontario, in 1863. His widow died in 1887.

6. Roderick William Keir Macleod, a midshipman on board the frigate *Belvidera*, commanded by Captain Byron, when she was attacked on the North American Station by the Americans in 1812, on which occasion Roderick Macleod received a contusion from the falling rigging, from the effects of which he soon afterwards died at Killiegray.

7. Donald Macdonald Macleod, a Lieutenant in the 50th Regiment, Madras Native Infantry. He died, unmarried, at Drynoch, in 1837.

8. Charles Macleod, of Glendulochan, who married Annabella, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Downie, minister of Lochalsh, with issue—one son, Alexander, who died unmarried, in 1869. Charles Macleod married, secondly, Margaret Cowie, with issue—one son, Norman Charles, now in Canada, and three daughters.

9. Forbes Brodie Macleod, a Lieutenant in the 12th Regiment, Madras Native Infantry. He died, unmarried, in Madras, in 1828.

10. Kate, who married Daniel Reid, Commander of the *Prince Ernest Augustus* Royal cruiser. He had the farm of Holm, near Stornoway. Afterwards, when he retired from sea, he took a lease of the farm of Ellanriach, Glenelg. Commander Reid had issue—(1) David, who married Jane, daughter of Major Macqueen, with issue—four children, of whom one survives. (2) John Alexander, who married Jessie, a daughter of Adam Scott, of Tullich, with issue—four sons and one daughter. He died at New Kelso, Lochcarron, in 1863. (3) Norman, who died unmarried. (4) Donald Hugh, tacksman of Knoydart, who married Kate, eldest daughter of Captain D. Macdonald of Ostaig, Isle of Skye, and of the 42nd Highlanders (Black Watch), without issue. (5) Alexa, who married her cousin, Dr.



James Mackenzie, of Liverpool, youngest son of John Mackenzie, Stornoway, and III. of Lochend, without issue. She died at Homburg in 1887. (6) Barbara Margaret, who, in 1841, married, as his second wife, Alexander MacKinnon of Corrie, Isle of Skye, with issue—of whom three sons and three daughters survive. (7) Charlotte Isabella, who married Dr. Alexander Macrae, of the Indian Medical Service, a cadet of the family of Inverinate, with issue—three children, of whom one son and one daughter survive. (8) Louisa Marion, who married Colonel Campbell, with issue—two children, of whom one daughter survives.

II. Christina, who married Charles Gordon, of Greeshop (son of W. Gordon of Edintore and Greeshop), with issue—(1) Alexander Norman, of Bromley, Secretary to Sir Anthony Oliphant, Chief Justice of Ceylon. He died unmarried. (2) John Lewis, of Wavendon, Ceylon, who married Georgina, daughter of Rev. Charles Grant, Kinnussie, with issue—Charles, Norman George, John Lewis Randolph, Cosmo Moray, Ronald Stewart, Torquil Macleod, Christina Eliza, Georgina Mary, and Fanny. (3) Elizabeth Anne, who married W. Grieve of Braxholme Park, with issue—William James, who died unmarried; Charles, of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, married, with issue; Thomas, late of the Dragoon Guards (Carabineers); and Christina, who married Colonel Wheatley Robertson, of the Madras Civil Service, with issue. (4) Hannah, who married Captain T. H. Hull, of the Madras Fusiliers, son of William Hull of Marpool Hall, Devonshire, without issue. (5) Alexandrina Jane, who married, first, David Hay of Westerton, Morayshire, Captain, 6th Madras Cavalry, without issue. She married, secondly, James Wilkinson Gordon of Cairness, Aberdeenshire, with issue—Charles Thomas Gordon, now of Cairness, who married his cousin, Flora Emmeline Mary Hanmer; Randolph, Norman Lismoir Gordon, Theodore James Gordon, Alexandrina Mary, and Hilda Marion. (6) Marion Louisa, who died in childhood. (7) Mary Anne Catherine, who married, first, Colonel Charles Campbell, of the 39th Regiment, without issue, and, secondly,

Colonel F. H. Hanmer, of the Bengal army, Cantonment Magistrate of Allahabad, with issue—Walden Henry John Hanmer ; Norman Gordon Whichcote Hanmer ; and Flora Emmeline Mary. (8) Christina Jessie, who married Alexander Ogilvie, of the Madras Civil Service, son of William Ogilvie of Chesters, Roxburghshire. (9) Thomas Charlotte, who died in infancy.

12. Jessie, who married Thomas Gillespie, of Ardachy, with issue—(1) Thomas, an officer in the Madras Army, who died unmarried. (2) John, a Colonel in the Bengal Army, who also died unmarried. (3) Norman John ; and (4) Charles Gordon, both of whom survive. (5) Sophia Catherine, who married Archibald Adam, Glasgow, with issue—Thomas Gillespie ; Frederick Archibald, Captain, 40th Regiment, who married Florence, daughter of Colonel Watson, of the Bengal Cavalry ; and Sophia Alexandra. (6) Alexa Marion Macleod, who, in 1857, as his second wife, married Duncan Cameron, of Inverailort, Adjutant of the 42nd Highlanders (Black Watch), with issue—Christian Helen Jane, who, in 1888, married James Head of Newberries ; and Frances Alexandra. (7) Christina Mary. (8) Marion Isabella Jessie, who married General John Alfred Brereton, of the Bengal Staff, with issue—Randall Archange, John Gillespie, Charles Macleod, Frances Marion Emma, Rosalin Nina, Mary Lloyd, and Amy Violet.

13. Sibella, unmarried.


14. Marion, who died young.

15. Jamesina Fraser, who married the Rev. John Macrae, minister of Glenelg, with issue—two sons and four daughters, (1) John, Deputy Commissioner at Rangoon, Burmah, who married Elizabeth Fraser, daughter of John Dunbar, a Glasgow and Valparaiso merchant, with issue. (2) Norman James, a missionary at Madras, who married Jessie, fourth daughter of John Junor, M.D., Peebles. (3) Alexa, who married Hugh Bogle, W.S., Glasgow, with issue. (4) Madeline Charlotte, who married the Rev. Colin Campbell, minister of Lyne, Peebleshire. (5) Forbes ; and

(6) Catherine Christina Sibella ; both residing at Heathmount, Inverness.

Norman, as already stated, died in 1828, at Knock, Isle of Skye, when—his eldest son, Donald, having predeceased him in 1824—he was succeeded as representative of the family by his grandson,

VIII. NORMAN BERNERS MACLEOD. He emigrated to America, where he married and left issue, but we have not been able to trace any of his children. His eldest son, if alive, would now be the male representative of the Macleods of Drynoch. Failing surviving male issue of Norman Berners, the representation of the family would devolve upon Norman Torquil, eldest son of Martin Donald, fifth son of Norman Mor Macleod, VII. of Drynoch.



## THE MACLEODS OF TALISKER.

I. SIR RODERICK MACLEOD, the first of this family, was the second son of the famous Sir Roderick Mor Macleod, XIII. of Macleod, by his wife Isabel, daughter of Donald Macdonald, VIII. of Glengarry. On the death of his brother John, XIV. of Macleod, Roderick of Talisker became Tutor to John's son, Roderick the Witty, then a minor. In this capacity he was for many years *de facto* Chief of the Clan, and at their head took a prominent part in the struggle between King Charles and Oliver Cromwell. It has been already seen in the account of the MACLEODS OF DUNVEGAN, that when Charles came to Scotland in 1650, he issued a proclamation calling the Scottish people to his standard. In response to this call, Roderick of Talisker raised a regiment numbering seven hundred men, nearly all of his own name and clan. With these, he soon joined the King's army, and afterwards sent his brother, Lieutenant-Colonel Norman of Bernera, back to the Isles to raise another three hundred men, so as to bring the regiment up to a thousand. Norman found little difficulty in raising the men, but he had no arms to give them, and Talisker had to grant his personal bond to John Bunkle, then Commissary, before the necessary weapons could be obtained. This obligation afterwards brought Talisker into trouble, for, during the Commonwealth, the bond was assigned to a William MacCulloch, who did everything in his power to enforce it against Talisker by legal diligence. The proceedings were, however, ultimately suspended, but it was only in 1661, after the Restoration, that Colonel Macleod was relieved of it by Act of Parliament.

Roderick Macleod of Talisker and his brother, Norman

of Bernera, accompanied Charles II. at the head of their regiment to the disastrous battle of Worcester in 1651, where the Macleods were almost to a man cut to pieces; and the few of them who escaped alive were taken prisoners and afterwards transported, as white slaves, to the South Carolina plantations. Talisker managed to effect his escape, and after concealing himself for a short time in England, he, in various disguises, succeeded in finding his way to the Isle of Skye, leaving his brother Norman a prisoner of war behind him, awaiting trial for his life. How the latter ultimately escaped will be told in our account of the MACLEODS OF BERNERA. In 1653, Norman was sent as a special envoy from the Highland Chiefs to King Charles, and he brought back a message from His Majesty to his faithful Highlanders, which was addressed to Macleod of Talisker. This document, dated Chantilly the 31st of August, 1653, contained the most kindly expressions and grateful acknowledgments for the services rendered to the Royal cause by Roderick Macleod of Talisker and his brother Highlanders. Charles expressed his determination to reward him for these services, and for his cheerfulness in concurring in and conducting that good work upon which the King's interest, and the honour and liberty of the country and the preservation of the whole nobility and gentry at the time so much depended.

When General Middleton's army was defeated by General Morgan at Lochgarry, a Council of War was held at which it was decided that no more could then be done for the Royal cause, whereupon the Highland army was dissolved, and General Middleton, accompanied by Dalziel, Drummond, and several other officers, retired to Dunvegan, under the protection of the Macleods, while others followed Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel to Lochaber. During the winter, Sir Ewen accompanied his guests to Dunvegan Castle, where several of the leading Highland Chiefs attended to meet him. A Council was held, when it was decided that they should submit, before they were completely ruined, and make the best terms they could with

Cromwell's lieutenants; for Charles was now quite unable to support them with any money, men, or arms. It had been previously intimated to the Highland leaders through secret sources, that if they laid down their arms, they would be restored to their fortunes and estates, and, with this knowledge, they agreed to submit.

The Royalist commanders were well received and hospitably entertained at Dunvegan Castle. Talisker's loyalty and sufferings were well known to them, and before leaving, they decided to acknowledge his services and the fidelity of his family and Clan, by placing them formally on record, and by recommending him to the King, in the following terms:—

“Seeing it is incumbent on us to do whatsoever may tend to the honour, safety, and advantage of those whose signally loyal and faithful adherence to His Majesty's service have deserved, we do hereby testify and declare, that this noble gentleman, Colonel Roderick Macleod, hath not only given singular proof of his fidelity, prudence, conduct, valour, and industry in His Majesty's service, and suffered much for it in former times, as is no less known to His Majesty than to us; but having been at expense, charges, and pains, and chiefly instrumental and active in the enlivening and promoting this late undertaking, hath in the progress of it behaved himself with such clear honour, integrity, discretion, constancy, and gallant resolution on all occasions, as became a person of eminent worth, dignity and virtue; having not only transcended others in the common duty of a loyal subject and a good commander, but also performed many particular and important offices, in order to the continuance of His Majesty's service, and advantage of his affairs, which are hardly to be paralleled; and whatever may have been the miscarriages of any person or persons to the prejudice of His Majesty's service, and those that are concerned in it, we do, upon our certain knowledge likewise declare, that the said Colonel Roderick Macleod is not only absolutely freed from any accession to it, and untainted with it, but also hath been principally instrumental in frustrating all designs and attempts undertaken to our prejudice, and author of our preservation; by all which he hath not only deserved that his deportment should by us be duly represented to His Majesty, but that they should be suitably rewarded, and



his honour and merit made manifest to the world; and we do hereby likewise not only allow and authorize, but do most earnestly desire him to apply himself to such courses as may be most expedient for his safety and preservation, by private address, capitulation or otherwise. In testimony whereof we have signed and sealed these presents at Dunvegan, the last day of March, 1655. (Signed), John Middleton; Dalzell; W. Drummond."

From this date until the Restoration, Roderick Macleod of Talisker lived quietly at home. When Charles II. returned to London, Roderick proceeded there to meet him, when he was most graciously received and had, along with his brother, Lieutenant-Colonel Norman, who accompanied him, the honour of knighthood conferred upon him, in acknowledgment of his splendid services to the Royal cause during the Commonwealth. This was all the reward he ever received, notwithstanding the promises which had been so freely made to him during the King's exile.

Sir Roderick married first, a daughter of Donald Mackay, first Lord Reay, with issue—an only daughter, who died young.

He married, secondly, Mary, eldest daughter of Sir Lachlan Mackinnon of Mackinnon, with issue—

1. John, his heir and successor.
2. Magnus, who died before his father, unmarried.
3. Isabel, who, as his first wife, married Donald Maclean, X. of Coll, with issue—Hector Maclean, who carried on the representation of the family.

Roderick died at a very advanced age in 1675, when he was succeeded by his eldest and only surviving son,

II. JOHN MACLEOD, second of Talisker, who married Janet, the only child of Alexander Macleod, younger of Greshornish (who died before his father), with issue—

1. Donald, his heir and successor.
2. Margaret, who married Roderick Macleod, first of Ulinish, with issue.
3. Another daughter.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

III. DONALD MACLEOD, third of Talisker, who married

Christiana, daughter of John Macleod, II. of Contullich, with issue—

1. John, his heir and successor, born in 1718.

2. Magnus, Lieutenant-Colonel in Colonel Campbell's regiment of Highlanders, who succeeded his brother John as representative of the family.

3. Roderick Macleod, who was born in 1727, was in 1749 appointed Professor of Philosophy at, and afterwards Principal of King's College, Aberdeen. He married Isabella, daughter of Dr. Christie, of Baberton, and died in November, 1815, leaving issue—(1) Archibald Macleod, who died in infancy. (2) Donald Macleod, a Captain in the Bengal Artillery, who died at sea off the Mauritius, on his way home for his health, unmarried. (3) John Macleod, a Captain in the Bombay Engineers, A.D.C., and Persian Interpreter to the Hon. Mount-Stuart Elphinstone, when he was Governor of Bombay. He afterwards appointed Captain Macleod to be Resident and Political Agent at Bushire, where he died, unmarried, in 1824. (4) Roderick Macleod, M.D., a celebrated London physician, who married Margaret Gambier, daughter of the Rev. Roderick Macleod, D.D., of the family of Drynoch, and for forty years rector of St. Anne's Church, Soho, London, with issue—(a) Major-General Roderick Bannatyne Macleod. He was born in 1823 and died in 1881. He was Lieutenant-Colonel of the 21st Hussars for many years in India, and married Amelia, daughter of Colonel William Benson of the Indian Army, with issue—Roderick William Macleod, a Captain in the Bengal Staff Corps, and now in the 29th Punjaub Native infantry; Norman Redmond Macleod, who died young; Jessie Macleod, who also died young; and Alice Macleod, who married Major Evan Bruce-Gardyne, of the Indian army, younger son of Mr. Bruce-Gardyne, of Middleton, Forfarshire, with issue—one son and two daughters, Florence Anne Macleod and Esther Isabel Macleod. (b) The Rev. John George Macleod, at present a priest at Wigan. (c) Jessie Macleod, who married James Augustus Sinclair, C.A., and agent for the Bank

of Scotland in Aberdeen, male representative of the Sinclairs of Durran, Caithness, with issue—four sons and four daughters. (5) Christina, who married Dr. Hugh Macpherson, Sub-Principal and Professor of Greek in King's College, Aberdeen, with issue—six sons and seven daughters, (*a*) William, a barrister, who married Diana Johnston, with issue—three sons and five daughters; (*b*) John, M.D., Inspector-General of Army Hospitals, who married C. M. Staples, daughter of Sir N. Staples, Baronet, with issue—two sons; (*c*) Hugh Martin, Inspector-General of Army Hospitals, unmarried; (*d*) Major-General Roderick Donald, who married L. Chapman, with issue—two sons and two daughters; (*e*) Norman, Sheriff of Roxburghshire and ex-Professor of Scots Law, Edinburgh, who married G. G. Thomson; (*f*) Sir Arthur George, K.C.S.I., Secretary of the Judicial Department of the Council of India, who married Frances Martin, with issue—four sons and two daughters; (*g*) Isabella, unmarried; (*h*) Anne Maria, unmarried; (*i*) Elizabeth, who died unmarried; (*j*) Christina, who married M. P. Edgworth, of the Bengal Civil Service, with issue—one daughter; (*k*) Jessie, who married Lieutenant-Colonel James Young, with issue—five daughters; (*l*) Margaret, unmarried; (*m*) Lucy Jane, who married Lieutenant-General J. J. Macleod Innes, V.C., with issue—three sons and three daughters. (6) Isabella, who married Colonel Arthur Forbes, youngest son of Sir Arthur Forbes of Craigievar, with issue—one son and three daughters. (7) Anne, who died unmarried. (8) Jessie, who died young. (9) Margaret, who married Colonel George Thomas Gordon, of the H.E.I.C.S., with issue—four daughters, Isabella Anne, who married Assistant-Surgeon Charles Lumsden, of the 8th Hussars. He died in India at an early age, leaving issue—three daughters. Colonel Gordon's second daughter, Margaret Sarah, is unmarried. His third, Matilda Christina, married Horace Powell Cotton of Queen Park, Isle of Thanet; and the fourth, Georgina Jessie, married James Nicol Macadam, grandson of Sir James Macadam.

4. Norman Macleod, Captain-Lieutenant in the regiment of light-armed Infantry in North America, and one of the Superintendents of the American Indians.

5. Janet, who married Hugh Maclean, XIII. of Coll, with issue—several other sons and daughters.

6. Isabel, who married Hector Maclean of the Isle of Muck.

Donald Macleod, third of Talisker, was succeeded by his eldest son,

IV. JOHN MACLEOD, fourth of Talisker, who was an officer in the Dutch Army. He was brought up to the medical profession, but in 1745 he joined one of the Independent Companies raised in that year by his Chief, Norman Macleod, XIX. of Macleod; and it was he who, in the following year, arrested Flora Macdonald for the noble part she had taken in securing the escape of Prince Charles from the Western Isles, after the battle of Culloden. He took an active part on the same side as his Chief. In a letter written by Macleod of Macleod, from Dunvegan Castle, to Lord President Forbes, under date 23rd October, 1745, he says—"By the end of next week, Talisker, who has just got a son, will be ready to move, and I will by that time have a body of 300 men so disposed here that they can move on a day's notice." He afterwards joined the Scots Brigade in Holland, and in the army of that country rose to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, after which he returned to the Isle of Skye, and settled for the remainder of his life at Talisker.

Thomas Pennant, during his tour in 1772, accompanied by the Rev. John Lightfoot, author of the *Flora Scotica*, and the Rev. John Stewart of Killin, called at Talisker, where they were received "with the utmost hospitality." Colonel Macleod showed them a claymore, "or great two-handed sword," having a blade three feet seven inches long, with a handle fourteen inches, and weighing six and a half pounds. During this visit, Talisker presented Pennant with a brazen sword found in Skye, of a kind common to the Romans, Scandinavians, and ancient Britons, and

probably used by the early Danish inhabitants of the island. Pennant and his companions found no less than fifteen different waterfalls within a quarter of a mile of the house, and they also saw Cuchullin's well, "said to have been the favourite spring of that ancient hero;" drank out of it, and found the water admirable.

Dr. Johnson, who met Talisker at Raasay, in 1773, describes him as "a very genteel man," and belonging to "a faithful branch of the family" of Macleod. When leaving Raasay, on Sunday, 12th of September, 1773, Colonel Macleod, accompanied by his Chief, preceded Dr. Johnson in a boat for Sconser on their way to Dunvegan, whither he followed them next day, after spending the night at Kingsburgh House and sleeping in the same bed in which Prince Charles Edward slept during his wanderings, after Culloden, in the Isle of Skye. On his arrival, Dr. Johnson was received by the wife of the Chief, who, with Talisker, had been detained on his way from Sconser, and only arrived some time after the doctor and his companion, Mr. Boswell. Here they were joined by Talisker's brother, Magnus Macleod of Cleigan, and by Alexander Macleod of Bay, when all dined generously together on wine and venison. Macleod of Ulinish joined them at supper. During Wednesday, Boswell says of Colonel Macleod of Talisker that, "instead of being all life and gaiety, as I have seen him, he was at present grave, and somewhat depressed by his anxious concern about Macleod's affairs, and by finding some gentlemen of the Clan by no means disposed to act a generous or affectionate part to their Chief in his distress, but bargaining with him as with a stranger. However, he was agreeable and polite, and Dr. Johnson said he was a very pleasing man." The affairs of the Chief had become embarrassed, and in the previous year (1772) he appointed his grandson, afterwards General Macleod, and his relative, Colonel Macleod of Talisker, to place matters on a better footing. This was the cause of the depression and anxious concern on the part of Talisker to which Boswell refers.

General Macleod afterwards wrote a short memoir of his own life, in which he describes the position into which his grandfather's affairs had drifted, the causes which had led up to that unfortunate result, and the steps which were taken by himself and Colonel Macleod of Talisker to amend matters. [See pp. 149-152 and 163-165.]

On Thursday, the 23rd September, 1773, Dr. Johnson and his companions arrived at Talisker, after having spent two nights with Sheriff-Substitute Alexander Macleod, at Ulinish. He was accompanied on his journey by Macleod of Macleod and by Talisker himself. Boswell describes the place thus—"Talisker is a better place than one commonly finds in Skye. It is situated in a rich bottom; before it is a wide expanse of sea, on each hand of which are immense rocks; and, at some distance in the sea, there are three columnal rocks rising to sharp points. The billows break with prodigious force and noise on the coast of Talisker. There are a good many well-grown trees. Talisker is an extensive farm. The possessor of it has, for several generations, been the next heir to Macleod, as there has been but one son always in the family. The Court before the house is most injudiciously paved with the round bluish-gray pebbles which are found upon the sea-shore; so that you walk as if upon cannon-balls driven into the ground."

On Saturday the 25th, Dr. Johnson and his friend Boswell took leave of Macleod of Macleod and Talisker, from whom they parted with regret. "Talisker," Boswell says, "having been bred to physic, had a tincture of scholarship in his conversation, which pleased Dr. Johnson, and he had some very good books; and being a Colonel in the Dutch Service, he and his lady, in consequence of having lived abroad, had introduced the ease and politeness of the Continent into this rude region." Writing to Macleod of Macleod from Ostaig on the 28th of September, a few days before he left the island, Dr. Johnson adds a postscript in which he says—"We passed two days at Talisker very happily, both by the pleasant-



ness of the place and the elegance of our reception."

Colonel Macleod of Talisker, who was, along with many of his fellow islesmen, an officer in the Scots Brigade, served with distinction in Keith and Campbell's Highlanders, under Prince Ferdinand in Germany, and it was remarked of him and the gentlemen who accompanied him from Skye to join the Scots Brigade in Holland that they "were particularly successful," and "that they always found a ready supply of young soldiers" from their native island.

John Knox, the traveller, during his tour to the Western Isles, in 1786, paid a visit to Talisker. Going by boat, accompanied by Sheriff Macleod of Ulinish, he was met by the Colonel, who, Mr. Knox says, "though extremely corpulent, had, with his usual politeness, reached the beach, from whence we were conducted, through a small but rich valley, to the seat of plenty, hospitality and good nature." The mountains in the neighbourhood abounded in "deer, hare, and wild fowl; the fields in grain, hay, pasturage; the gardens in fruits and vegetables; the rivers in trout and salmon; the sea in herrings and white fish. Such, with the additional circumstance of a well-stocked cellar, are the felicities of this very remote and almost inaccessible corner. While these furnish many of the choicest luxuries of life, Talisker and his lady," continues Mr. Knox, "enjoy the good will of the people around." Next day, Colonel Macleod accompanied his guest to Dunvegan Castle, at the time, in the absence of General Macleod in India, inhabited by Major Alexander Macleod of Loch-Bay, and his wife, Anne, a daughter of the celebrated Flora Macdonald.

Colonel Macleod married first, Florence, daughter of Hector Maclean, XI. of Coll, with issue—a son born in 1745, who died young.

He married secondly, Christian, daughter of John Mackay, merchant, Inverness, without issue.

He died in July, 1800, without surviving issue, when he was succeeded as representative of the family by his brother,

V. MAGNUS MACLEOD of Cleigan, Lieutenant-Colonel in Colonel Campbell's Regiment of Highlanders. He was one of the principal gentlemen of the Clan who met Dr. Johnson at Dunvegan Castle during his tour to the Hebrides in 1773. He married Margaret Isabella, daughter of Macdonald of Skirinish, with issue—

1. Donald Macleod, his heir and successor.
2. Alexander Macleod, who died after having attained the rank of Colonel in the Madras Army.

Magnus was succeeded as representative of the family by his eldest son,

VI. MAJOR DONALD MACLEOD, who sold the remainder of the lease of Talisker, emigrated to Van Diemen's Land, now known as Tasmania, about 1821, and settled in that country. We have a letter written by him, dated "Dunvegan, 10th June, 1811." He married Catherine, third daughter of Alastair Ruadh Maclean, XIV. of Coll, by his wife Catherine, daughter of Cameron of Glendessaray, with issue—

1. Magnus, who died unmarried.
2. Alexander, who died unmarried.
3. Norman, who married Catherine, daughter of Alexander Paterson, of Sydney, New South Wales, with issue—Alexander, Donald, Wallace, Catherine, Norma, Constance, and Jessie.
4. Hugh, who married Miss Hines, with issue—Donald, Hugh, Percy, Norman, Margaret, Catherine, Lillian, Gertrude, and Mary. Hugh is the only one of Major Donald Macleod's sons who now survives.
5. Donald, who married, without issue.
6. Hector, who married Marion, eldest daughter of John Lord, a Sydney merchant, with issue—Roderick, John, Allan, Marion, and Catherine.
7. Roderick, who died young.
8. Catherine, who married Dr. Salmon, Tasmania, without issue. She still survives, in her 80th year.
9. Isabella, who, as his second wife, married Alexander Paterson, of Sydney, New South Wales, with issue—

Alexander, Donald, Magnus, Catherine, Isabella, Marion, and Sibella. She is still alive.

10. Margaret, who survives, unmarried.

11. Marion, who married Mordaunt, eldest son of Captain John Maclean, of Sydney, and Military Knight of Windsor, with issue—Leyburn, Roderick, Norman, and Allan.

12. Jessie, who married Charles Marsh, of Salisbury, New England, New South Wales, younger brother of the late Matthew Henry Marsh, M.P. for Salisbury, Wilts, England, with issue—George, Henry, Harold, Macleod, Catherine, Marion, Fanny, and Lucy.

In 1857 Major Donald Macleod's widow, at an advanced age, visited Britain, where she remained for a few years, and then returned to Australia, where she died soon afterwards.

All the members of this family settled in New South Wales and Victoria, where the sons were known as "The Big Macleods."

## THE MACLEODS OF BERNERA AND MUIRAVONSIDE.

I. SIR NORMAN MACLEOD, the first of this family, was the 3rd son of Sir Roderick Mor Macleod, XIII. of Dunvegan. He was born in the Island of Bernera, about 1600, as appears from the following inscription cut upon the old Chapel wall now in ruins:—"Hic natus est illustris ille Normannus Macleod de Berneray, eques auratus"—"Here was born the illustrious Norman Macleod of Berneray, a distinguished cavalier." The date of his birth is not stated in this inscription, but it is said to be seen on a tomb-stone inside the Chapel. Norman is described as "a man of singular honour and integrity, a sincere and steady loyalist." It will have been already seen (pp. 228-229) how, during the minority of his nephew, Roderick, XV. of Macleod, his Tutor, Sir Roderick Macleod, first of Talisker, managed the affairs of the Clan and supported Charles II. against Cromwell during the Commonwealth, and how when, in 1650, the King arrived in Scotland, he issued a proclamation requesting all his Scottish subjects to repair to his standard, Sir Roderick Macleod of Talisker responded to the Royal demands by raising a regiment of 700 Highlanders, nearly all composed of his nephew's clansmen. The Lieutenant-Colonelcy of this body Sir Roderick conferred upon his immediate younger brother, Norman Macleod of Bernera, who afterwards, at their head, proved that he possessed all the qualities that go to make a gallant and distinguished soldier.

Having joined the Royal Army at the head of his men, and having remained there for a short time, Colonel Norman was ordered to raise an additional body of three

hundred men, so as to bring his regiment up to the full strength of a thousand, a task which he willingly undertook and very soon performed. The only obstacle he had any serious difficulty in surmounting was in providing such a large number of men with arms, but that was soon managed by his brother, Sir Roderick of Talisker, as already told.

The two valiant brothers accompanied King Charles at the head of their Clan to the battle of Worcester. Nearly all their followers were slain, and those who escaped with their lives were afterwards transported to the South Carolina plantations and sold into slavery. Scarcely any of them ever returned to Skye. The Clan was almost left without an able-bodied man. So great was the slaughter of the Macleod regiment on this occasion that it was agreed by the other Highland clans that the Macleods of Dunvegan should not be asked to take part in any military operation until they should have ample time to multiply and recover their unprecedented losses on this fatal field. Sir Roderick of Talisker managed to effect his escape, and, in disguise, after great difficulties and various disguises, to find his way back to the Highlands; but his brother, Lieutenant-Colonel Norman, was taken prisoner, and kept in confinement for eighteen months, at the end of which he was tried for his life. Through a flaw in the indictment procedure was sisted; he was sent back to prison, and finally escaped, after which he succeeded in making his way to the Isle of Skye, where he continued in his loyalty to the King, by whom, after the Restoration, he and his brother, Roderick of Talisker, were knighted.

Sir Robert Douglas informs us that Sir Norman "was taken prisoner and carried to England, where he was detained about eighteen months, during which time he underwent a trial for his life by the English law upon the supposition of his being a Welshman, from the affinity of the surnames App-Loid and Macleod, but he being well-known to the principal officers in the Scotch army was easily proven to be a Scotchman, upon which there

was a sist of the procedure, and he was remanded back to prison. He then had an offer of his liberty, if he would take an oath of fidelity to the Usurper, etc., but that he would by no means comply with. However, being a man of fine address, and greatly esteemed, he got his escape made and with much difficulty got back to his own country, where he contributed all in his power for disposing the people to exert themselves for bringing about a restoration of the Royal Family.”\*

At a general meeting of the Chiefs who still continued loyal to King Charles, held at Glenelg on the 21st of April, 1653, it was agreed to raise a body of two thousand Highlanders for His Majesty’s service ; and, at the same time, it was resolved to send a messenger, with proper credentials, signed by the principal heads of clans who attended this Council, to King Charles at Paris, to the King of Denmark, to the Princess Royal, and to the States of Holland, to advise them fully as to the condition, resolution, and desires of the Highland Chiefs there assembled. To carry out this important and dangerous embassy, Lieutenant-Colonel Norman Macleod, who had so recently escaped from an English prison, after undergoing trial for his life, was fixed upon and he cheerfully undertook the duty. He succeeded in his journey, delivered his message into the King’s own hands, and was received as graciously as the importance of his message and the faithful and successful manner in which it was carried out so fully deserved. He brought back a message from the King to his faithful Highlanders, addressed to his brother, Roderick Macleod of Talisker, full of the most kindly expressions and grateful acknowledgments, dated at Chantilly, the 31st of October, 1653. In this letter, His Majesty expressed the strongest resolution of rewarding Talisker for his services and for the cheerfulness with which he concurred in and conducted that good work upon which the King’s interest and “the honour and liberty of the country, and the preservation of the whole nobility and

\* *Douglas’s Baronage*, p. 381.



gentry so much depended." Sir Norman performed many other important services to Charles during the remainder of his life, before and after the Restoration.

On receiving his audience of leave from the King, Colonel Norman was entrusted with letters from His Majesty to the leaders of the loyalists in Scotland, and was at the same time requested to return home through Holland, where General Middleton was then residing. From this place he took charge of, conveyed to Scotland, and faithfully delivered a supply of arms and ammunition provided by the Dutch Government for the Highlanders. When, in 1655, Generals Dalzell, Middleton, and Drummond retired to Dunvegan Castle, under the protection of Sir Roderick Macleod of Talisker, Colonel Norman did everything in his power to get them safely across to Skye, provided them with all necessaries for their journey, and got them escorted in safety to their destination in the ancient stronghold of the Macleods. He afterwards conveyed General Middleton and his companions for greater safety to his own residence in the Island of Bernera, from whence they managed to escape to the Continent.

Towards the end of 1659, Charles II. employed Colonel Norman on a special mission to Frederick III., King of Denmark, the object of which was to ask His Majesty to furnish Charles with a sufficient number of troops to regain his kingdom. In this mission Norman was so far successful that His Danish Majesty agreed on his urgent representations to furnish ten thousand men, with experienced officers; and this large force was actually preparing to embark for Scotland when news reached Denmark of the restoration of Charles II. to the throne of his ancestors.

In 1660, immediately after the Restoration, Colonel Norman proceeded to London and had an audience of the King, who received him most graciously, and conferred upon him and upon his brother, Roderick of Talisker, the honour of knighthood—a comparatively barren reward for the great sufferings, losses, and faithful services which had been for so many years rendered by themselves and

their Clan. He again went to Court in 1662, and presented to the King with his own hands a memorial detailing all his own and his people's services, losses, and sufferings. His Majesty was much impressed with the narrative and gave a favourable deliverance on the memorial. At the same time he gave Sir Norman an order putting him in possession of Macleod of Assynt's estate, which Charles thought was forfeited on account of the support which Assynt had given to His Majesty's enemies, and especially on account of his having betrayed Montrose. Assynt, however, afterwards stood his trial and was acquitted on the ground that he was included in the general amnesty issued by the King on his Restoration, so that Sir Norman of Bernera reaped neither immediate nor ultimate advantage from his second visit to the King in London and the empty promises of reward so solemnly made to him by that ungrateful monarch.

It was to this distinguished member of the Clan that the famous family poetess, "Mairi Nighean Alastair Ruaidh," composed all her Macleod poems given in Mackenzie's *Beauties of Gaelic Poetry*, except her "Cumha do MhacLeoid," composed to Roderick, XV. of Macleod, grandson of Sir Rory Mòr; her "Marbhrann do Dh' Iain Garbh MacGillechallum Rarsaidh;" "An Cronan;" and her "Oran do dh'Iain Mac Shir Tormod MhicLeoid," John of Contullich, Sir Norman's eldest son. It is quite clear from internal evidence that her "Fuaime an t-Saimh;" "An Talla 'm bu ghnath le Macleoid;" "Cumha MhicLeoid;" and "Luinneag MhicLeoid," were all composed to her favourite hero and benefactor, Sir Norman Macleod of Bernera. And this will fully account for what has hitherto been a puzzle—the banishment of the celebrated poetess by her Chief to the Island of Mull, for composing, it has always hitherto been erroneously alleged, such splendid Gaelic poems in his own praise.

The real reason for "Mairi Nighean Alastair Ruaidh's" banishment to Mull was, on the contrary, the jealousy and annoyance of her Chief because nearly all her eulogies

and her best poems were composed in praise not of himself but of his relative Sir Norman of Bernera, and his eldest son, John of Contullich.

There never was a Chief of the Macleods called Sir Norman, and in the five poems mentioned, "Sir Tormod," "The warrior son of Rory Mòr," and "The husband of Sir James Macdonald's daughter"—all the three designations referring to one and the same person—is in each case directly addressed as the subject of the poems.

Sir Norman Macleod married, first, Margaret, only daughter of John Mackenzie, first of Lochslinn (second son of Kenneth, first Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, and brother of Colin, first Earl of Seaforth), by his wife Isabel, eldest daughter of Alexander Mackenzie, V. of Gairloch. By Margaret of Lochslinn Sir Norman had issue—

1. John Macleod of Contullich, his heir and successor.

Sir Norman married, secondly, Catherine, eldest daughter of Sir James Macdonald, IX. of Sleat, by his wife Margaret, only daughter of Sir Roderick Mackenzie, Tutor of Kintail and progenitor of the Earls of Cromarty. Catherine's sister, Florence, married John Macleod, XV. of Dunvegan. By his second wife Norman had issue—

2. William Macleod, I. of Luskintyre, who was born in 1661, and died on the 8th of February, 1738, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.\* He married Margaret, eldest daughter of Captain Kenneth Mackenzie, II. of Suddie, killed in Lochaber in 1688, with issue, several children, four only of whom survived him—(1) Alexander Macleod, II. of Luskintyre, who married Margaret Morrison, with issue—nineteen children, most of whom died young. Alexander's eldest son was Captain John Macleod,

\* While on a visit to Harris in May, 1885, the author visited Rodel Cathedral and a small roofless chapel in the Churchyard, from a tablet on the wall of which he copied the following inscription:—

"Here lyeth Wm. Macleod, eldest son to Sir N. Macleod of Berneray by K. Macdonald, daughter to Sir J. Macdonald of Slate, who died upon ye 18th of February 1738, in the 77th yr. of his age. He was married to M. Mackenzie, eldest daughter to Capt. K. Mackenzie of Suddie, and by her had sev. children, 4 of which survived him, viz., A———, his 1st

Aide-de-Camp to General Humberston. His youngest son, born on the 9th of January, 1766, was Sir Alexander Macleod, K.C.B., of the Bengal Artillery. Isabella, the eldest daughter of Alexander, II. of Luskintyre, married Dr. William Macleod, VIII. of Glendale, of the "Sliochd Ian Mhic Leoid," who died at Borline, in Skye, on the 10th of August, 1811, with issue, for which see the MACLEODS OF GLENDALE (pp. 211-212). (2) Roderick Macleod, a Writer to the Signet, who married, first, Isabel, daughter of Hector Bannatyne of Kaimes, in Buteshire, with issue—  
 3 (a) Bannatyne William Macleod, a distinguished advocate, born in 1749, and four daughters. Roderick married, secondly, Marjory, daughter of John Taylor, solicitor, Inveraray. In 1799 Bannatyne William Macleod became one of the Lords of the Court of Session in Scotland. He was knighted in 1823, and died unmarried in 1833. (3) Margaret, eldest daughter of William, I. of Luskintyre, married Ranald Macdonald, XXV. of Clanranald, with issue. (4) Alice, the second daughter, married Roderick Macneil of Barra, with issue—Roderick, who was killed at Quebec, leaving another Roderick, who succeeded to Barra. William, I. of Luskintyre had two other daughters, of whom nothing is known.

3. Sir Alexander Macleod, advocate, who attained great eminence at the Scottish bar, became Lord Advocate, and was knighted. He died without issue.

4. Isabel, who married Roderick Macneil of Barra, with issue.

5. Marian, who, as his second wife, married Donald Maclean, X. of Coll, with issue—Hugh Maclean, XII. of

son,———; R. Macleod, writer to the Signet, his 2nd son, married to a daughtr. of Bannatyne of Keimes, in Bute; Marg. married to the Capt. of Clanranald; and Alice to M'Neil of Barray. He was a good husband, a kind parent and master, and a sincere friend, remarkable for charity, piety, and integrity of life, which made his death much regretted by all his friends and dependents. This chapel was built by ye said A. M'L., and this stone placed therein by the said A. M'L., in honour of his father." That is Alexander Macleod, William's eldest son, whose name, all but the initial letter A, was illegible on the tablet.

Coll, Neil, and a daughter, Catherine, who married Hector Maclean of Erray.

6. Catherine, who married, first, Alexander Macleod, VII. of Raasay, with issue—a son and successor. She married, secondly, Angus Macdonell of Scotus, brother of Alastair Dubh, XI. of Glengarry, with issue, from whom, since the extinction of the direct line in 1868, the present head of that house is descended.

7. Margaret, who died unmarried.

Sir Norman, the poetess informs us in the following lines, died on the 3rd of March, though she does not mention the year:—

*An treas la de'n Mhàirt,  
Dh' fhalbh m' aighear gu bràth,  
Bì sùd saighead mo chràidh  
Bhì 'g amharc do bhàis  
A ghnuis fhathasach ailt;  
A dheagh mhic rathail  
An armuinn euchdaich.  
Mac Ruairidh reachdmhoir,  
Uaibhrich, bheachdail,  
Bu bhuaidh leatsa,  
Dualchas farsuinn,  
Snuadh-ghlaine pearsa;  
Cruadal is sniachd gun eucoir.*

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

II. JOHN MACLEOD, second of Bernera and first of Contullich, known among his own countrymen as “Ian Taoitear,” he having been Tutor or Guardian to Norman XIX. of Macleod. He was an advocate at the Scottish Bar, and to him it was that “Mairi Nighean Alastair Ruaidh,” the Skye poetess, composed that beautiful poem, entitled “Oran do dh'Ian, Mac Sir Tormod Mhic-Leoid.” In this song she says of John—

*Fior Leodach ùr gasda,  
Foinnidh, beachdail, glic, fialaidh thu,  
De shliochd nam fear fathail,  
Bu mhath an ceann chliaranach.  
Ach a mhic ud Shir Tormod,  
Gu'n soirbhich gach bliadhna dhut,  
Chuir buaidh air do shliochd-sa,  
Agus piseach air t-iarmadan;*

'S do'n chuid eile chloinn t-athar,  
 Anns gach rathad a thriallas iad,  
 Gu'n robh toradh mo dhùrachd  
 Dol nan rùn mar bu mhiannach leam.

Nuair theid thu do'n fhireach,  
 'S ro mhath chinneas an fhiadhach leat,  
 Le d' lothain chon ghleusda  
 Ann a d' dheigh nuair a thrialladh tu,  
 Sin a's cuilbhear caol cinnteach,  
 Cruaidh, direach, gun fhiaradh ann ;  
 Bu tu sealgair na h-eilid,  
 A choilich, 's na liath-chirce.

Slan iomradh dhut Iain,  
 Gu ma rathail a dh' eireas dut,  
 'S tu mac an deagh athar,  
 Bha gu mathasach, meaghrachail,  
 Bha gu furbhailteach, daonnachdach,  
 Faoilteachail, deirceachail ;  
 Sàr cheannard air *trìp* thu  
 Nuair chuirte leat feum orra.

John married Isabel, eldest daughter of Kenneth Mackenzie, I. of Scatwell (second son of Sir Roderick Mackenzie, Tutor of Kintail), by his second wife, Janet, daughter of Walter Ross of Invercharron. By this lady John had issue—

1. Alexander, who died without issue.
2. Roderick, who also died without issue.
3. William Macleod, an officer in the Dutch service, who married, with issue—one son, who died without issue.
4. John Macleod, of Muiravonside, who carried on the representation of the family.
5. Donald Macleod, who next occupied Bernera, and of whom hereafter. Donald's eldest son, Norman, ultimately succeeded as representative of the family.
6. Margaret, who married William Macleod, III. of Hamer.
7. Christiana, who married Donald Macleod III. of Talisker.
8. Janet, who married Lachlan Maclean, second of Gruline, (son of Allan, first of Gruline, who was third son of Charles Maclean, second of Ardnacross and first of



Drimnin) with issue—Hector, a medical doctor. This Dr. Hector Maclean resided at Erray, near Tobermory, Mull, where he composed a large number of excellent Gaelic poems which he preserved in a valuable M.S. collection. He married his cousin Catherine, only daughter of Donald Maclean, X. of Coll, by his second wife, Marion, second daughter of Sir Norman Macleod, I. of Bernera, by whom he had issue—several daughters, one of whom, Mary, Dr. Johnson, who visited Dr. Maclean in 1773, describes as the most accomplished lady he met during his tour to the Hebrides. Dr. Maclean died about 1785.

John Macleod, of Bernera and Contullich, was succeeded as representative of the family by his fourth and eldest surviving son,

III. JOHN MACLEOD of Muiravonside, who practised as an advocate at the Scottish Bar from ~~about 1688~~ to 1732. <sup>1710 -</sup> He registered arms on the 10th of April, 1731, as “fourth but only surviving son” of his father. He is the same who has been already mentioned, (pp. 125-127), as having had a share with Norman Macleod, XIX. of Macleod, and others, in the abduction of the unfortunate Lady Grange, on the 22nd of January, 1732.

He married first, Elizabeth, daughter of Captain Alexander Straiton, with issue—

1. Alexander, his heir and successor.
2. Elizabeth, who married John Macdonald of Largie, with issue—an only daughter, Elizabeth, who married Charles Lockhart, second son of George Lockhart of Carnwath, with issue.

John married secondly, Miss Hume, daughter of Alexander Hume, a Glasgow merchant, without issue.

He was succeeded as representative of the family by his only son,

IV. ALEXANDER of Muiravonside, who joined Prince Charles and was despatched by him to Skye with the view of persuading Macleod of Macleod and Sir James Macdonald of Sleat to join in the Rising of 1745, but his efforts proved unavailing. He afterwards, to escape

capture, led a wanderer's life for a long time through the most inaccessible parts of the Western Highlands and Isles. He met Dr. Johnson, who mentions him in his *Tour to the Hebrides* in 1773, in Raasay. On the 11th of July, 1778, he received a free pardon. He had married in 1710 a daughter of William Montgomery, of Macbeth Hill, and died, without issue, on the 30th of December, 1784. We now revert to his uncle, the famous

DONALD MACLEOD of Bernera. He was born in 1693, and was a loyal adherent of the Stuarts both in 1715 and 1745, having fought for them at Sheriffmuir, Falkirk, and Culloden. Donald on being required by his Chief, Norman, XIX of Macleod, to attend at Dunvegan with the men of Bernera, to proceed against Prince Charles, wrote—"I place at your disposal the twenty men of your tribe who are under my immediate command, and in any other quarrel would not fail to be at their head, but in the present I must go where a more imperious duty calls me." Norman, Donald's eldest son, however, joined his Chief, commanded one of the Independent Companies who took part against the Prince during the Rising, and was afterwards the most active in the many attempts to capture his own father, in which, however, he fortunately failed. After the passing of the Act of Indemnity, Donald returned to Bernera, lived to the ripe old age of 90, and died there in 1783. Amongst his descendants—the "Bernera tribe," as they were called in consequence of their great number—from his sturdy character and numerous progeny, Donald was generally spoken of as "The Old Trojan." He was married three times, having wedded his third wife, a young lady of sixteen years, in his 75th year, and by her, after this age, he had nine children—three sons and six daughters.

Donald married, first, when only 18 years of age, Anne, daughter of Roderick Macleod, XVII. of Macleod, by his wife Isabel, daughter of Kenneth, third Earl of Seaforth, by his wife, also Isabel, sister of George, first Earl of Cromarty. The ceremony was performed by the Rev.

Aulay Macaulay, great-grandfather of the celebrated Thomas Babington Lord Macaulay. By this marriage Donald had issue—

1. Norman Macleod of Unish, his heir.

2. Alexander, Captain of the East Indiaman *Mansfield*, who in 1779, after he retired from sea, became proprietor of Harris and the adjacent Isles, including St. Kilda, by purchase for £15,000 from the trustees of General Macleod, XX. of Macleod.

3. Roderick Macleod.

4. William Macleod.

5. John Macleod.

6. A Janet, who married the Rev. John Macpherson, D.D., minister of Sleat, who died in 1765, author of the *Dissertations on the Origin and Antiquities of the Caledonians*, with issue—(1) Sir John Macpherson, Baronet, born in 1744, Governor-General of India in 1785-86. Sir John was groomsmen at his grandfather, Donald Macleod of Bernera's third marriage, in 1768, to Margaret Macleod of Greshornish. He died unmarried in 1821, when the male representation of the family devolved upon his cousin, Dr. Hugh Macpherson, sub-Principal and Professor of Greek, Aberdeen (see p. 237). (2) The Rev. Martin Macpherson, who succeeded his father as minister of Sleat, and entertained Dr. Johnson and Boswell in 1773. He married Mary, daughter of Lachlan Mackinnon of Corrie, without issue, and died in 1812. (3) Isabel, who married Mr. Macpherson, from Badenoch, with issue—one son, Martin, who died unmarried.

7. Isabella, who married the Rev. William Macleod, third son of Roderick Macleod, first of Ulinish, minister successively of Bracadale and Campbelton, with issue—seven sons, Roderick, Norman, John, Donald, William, Roderick, and a third Roderick. Three of these were officers in the army and were killed in the Indian wars. Another of the sons commanded an East Indiaman, and died at an early age, unmarried. He had also ten daughters, of whom, Anne, married the Rev. Angus Macneil of

Vatersay, a cadet of the Macneils of Barra, and Tutor to young Roderick Macneil of Barra, son and successor of Roderick, who was killed at Quebec in 1759. By Anne Macleod the Rev. Angus Macneil had issue—(1) Donald Macneil, Deputy-Inspector-General of Army Hospitals from 1794 to 1820. He was born in 1769 and died at Jersey in 1824; (2) Marion, who married John Murray, of Greshornish; (3) Isabella, who died unmarried; (4) Flora, who died unmarried; and (5) Anne, who married John MacIntyre of the Inland Revenue, a native of Argyleshire, and died in 1852, leaving issue—(a) Angus MacIntyre, who died in Demerara, unmarried; (b) Neil MacIntyre, born in 1804, and married Emilia, daughter of William Hay, Postmaster, Inverness, without issue. He died at Glenferness in 1873. (c) Donald Macintyre, born in Skye on the 23rd of October, 1806, and died at Greenwich on the 21st of August, 1876. He married first on the 27th of June, 1838, Eliza, daughter of John, eldest son of the Rev. William Miller, Edinburgh, with issue—John Donald MacIntyre, born on the 11th of March, 1840, and died unmarried on the 15th of January, 1867; Angus Neil Tate MacIntyre, born on the 20th of February, 1845, and married on the 1st of October, 1887, Alice, daughter of the late Thomas Thomson, of Kelso, a cadet of Thomson of Attonburn; and Eliza Anne MacIntyre. Donald MacIntyre married, secondly, in March, 1869, Maria, daughter of the late George Canham, London, and widow of the late William Hay, junior, brother of Alexander Penrose Hay, Town Chamberlain of Inverness, without issue. She still survives. (d) Margaret, who, on the 31st December, 1879, died unmarried; and (e) Jamesina Fraser, who still survives.

8. Christian, who married Macleod of Oze, with issue—Roderick, William, Alexander, Anne, Helen, Marion, Janet, Christian, Margaret, Sibella, Jessie, Lexy, and Isabella.

9. A daughter, who married Macleod of Ferrinlea, without issue.

10. Sibella, who married Allan Macdonald of Knock,

Isle of Skye, with issue—General Donald Macdonald, of the 55th Regiment; Forbes Macdonald; Donald Macdonald; Nathaniel Macdonald; and three daughters, who died unmarried.

11. Flora, who married Campbell of Ensay, with issue—John Campbell; Colonel William Campbell; Angus Campbell; and two daughters, Anne and Janet.

12. A daughter who married Maclean of Trean.

13. A daughter who married Major Macdonald of Achagoyle.

Donald had seven other children by this marriage.

He married, secondly, Margaret Macdonald, described as “a daughter of John Macdonald Gorm Macdonald of Sleat.” They lived together for nineteen years, without issue.

Donald Macleod of Bernera married, thirdly, in the 75th year of his age, Margaret, daughter of the Rev. Donald Macleod, III. of Greshornish, and minister of Duirinish. She was then only sixteen years of age. By this marriage Donald had issue, in his old age—three sons and six daughters—

21. Lieutenant-General Sir John Macleod, K.C.B., and K.C.H., of Unish, Colonel of the 78th Highlanders. He was born on the 9th of January, 1766; was knighted for distinguished services; and died in 1851. He married a daughter of Colonel Finlayson with issue—Major Donald J. Macleod, of the Scots Greys, who died, unmarried, in 1852; Elizabeth, who married Henry Collins, of Aldsworth, without issue; and Margaret, who married Major George Cumberland (who died in 1865) of the 42nd Regiment, Royal Highlanders (Black Watch), with issue—several children.

22. Captain Donald Macleod, who commanded an East Indiaman. He married Miss Giguernet, daughter of an Attorney in Cheltenham, with issue—an only son, who died young.

23. Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Macleod, K.C.B., an officer of the Madras Army; afterwards of Gloucester

Place, Portman Square, London. He registered Arms on the 15th March, 1853. In the pedigree which he supplied to the Lyon Office on that occasion, he describes himself as "the youngest son" of Donald of Bernera, "and last surviving nephew of John of Muiravonside." He married Mary Chinnery, daughter of an artist of that name, without issue.

24. Alexandrina, who married Norman Macleod, VII. of Drynoch and last of Ellanriach, with issue—nine sons and six daughters. [See MACLEODS OF DRYNOCH].

25. Anne, who married Kenneth Campbell, of Strond, with issue—John, Donald, John Archibald, Alexander, Charles, Norman, Isabella, who died unmarried in November, 1888; Marion, who married William Taylor Rule, solicitor, Inverness; Alexandrina, who married the Rev. Alexander Maciver, minister of Dornoch, with issue; Mary, who married Dr. Alexander Macleod of Kilpheder, North Uist, better known as the "Doitear Bàn," with issue; and Margaret.

26. Marion, who married Major Alexander Macleod, I. of Dalvey, with issue. [See MACLEODS OF DALVEY.]

27. Jessie, who married Donald Maclean, of Boreray, and Drimnin, Morvern, with issue—Donald Maclean of the Commissariat Department, Cape of Good Hope, who married his cousin Margaret, daughter of Alexander Macleod, I. of Dalvey, without issue; General Archibald Maclean, of the Bombay Army; Dr. William Maclean, C.B., LL.D., Professor of Military Medicine at Netley Hospital, who married Louisa, daughter of John Macpherson, factor in Skye for Lord Macdonald, with issue—several sons and daughters; John Maclean; Roderick Maclean; Allan Maclean; Alexandrina, who married General Macpherson of Burgie, with issue; Marion, unmarried; Helen, who married Captain Donald Macleod, with issue; Margaret, who married the late Rev. Dr. John Macleod, D.D., minister of Morvern, and Dean of the Most Ancient Order of the Thistle and of the Chapel-Royal, with issue—among others, the Rev. Dr. Norman Macleod, minister of St. Stephen's,



Edinburgh, and the Rev. Dr. John Macleod, minister of Govan.

28. Christina, who married Major Macdonald of Asker-nish, with issue—Alexander, Donald, Jane, and Margaret.

29. Another daughter, who died in infancy.

In Rodel churchyard there is a monumental tablet, which was erected to Donald's memory by his second son, Captain Alexander of the *Mansfield* East Indiaman, who, after giving up a seafaring life, purchased, in 1779, the estate of Harris, as already stated. During a visit to Harris in May, 1885, we took a copy of this inscription, which is in the following terms:—

“To the memory of Donald Macleod of Berneray, son of John, Tutor of Macleod, who in vigour of body and mind, and firm adherence to the principles of his ancestors, resembled the men of former times. His grandfather and grand-uncle were knighted by King Charles II. for their loyalty and distinguished valour in the battle of Worcester. When the standard of the House of Stuart, to which he was attached, was displayed anno A.D. 1745, though past the prime of life, he took up arms, had a share in the actions of that period, and in the battle of Falkirk vanquished a dragoon hand to hand. From this time he lived at his house of Berneray, universally beloved and respected. In his 75th year he married his 3rd wife, by whom he had nine children, and died in his 90th year, the 16th December 1783. This monument was erected by his son, Alexander Macleod of Herreris, Esq.”

Donald having died in 1783, a year before his cousin, Alexander Macleod of Muiravonside, who died in 1784, he never attained to the position of head of his house.

Alexander, IV. of Bernera and Muiravonside was succeeded in the last-named year as male representative of the family by Donald's eldest son,

V. NORMAN MACLEOD of Bernera, designated of Unish during his father's life-time. In 1739 he was the leader of a party who kidnapped and carried on board ship a great many persons of both sexes in Skye and Harris, with the intention of transporting them to the Southern States of America and selling them into slavery. The

ship called at several places on the coast of the Western Islands, where several persons were captured and carried on board, after which Norman proceeded on his heartless journey. The ship was, however, caught in a storm on the north coast of Ireland and wrecked, but all the passengers were rescued. Most of them were, however, unable to find their way home and they settled in the North of Ireland. Others, after great difficulties and trials, managed to return to the Isles. Norman remained for several years in concealment on the other side of the Irish channel, but in 1745 he made his appearance on this side, joined the Government forces and secured, through the influence of Macleod of Dunvegan, the captaincy of one of the Independent Companies raised by Macleod during the Rising of that year. He was quite as keen a partisan on the one side as his father on the other, and when the Government forces, after Culloden, were searching for his father, they had no one more active in the fruitless attempt than this unnatural and heartless son.

It would appear from the following letter, addressed by Lady Margaret Macdonald of Sleat to Lord Justice-Clerk Milton, and printed in the *Culloden Papers*, that her husband, Sir Alexander, was suspected of having had some connection with Norman Macleod's kidnapping expedition. Her ladyship writes—

Skye, January 1st 1740.

Dear Justice,—Being informed by different hands from Edinburgh, that there is a current report of a ship having gone from this country with a great many people designed for America, and that Sir Alexander is thought to have concurred in forcing these people away. As I am positive of the falsehood of this, and quite acquainted with the danger of a report of this kind, I beg leave to inform your Lordship of the real matter of fact. In harvest last we were pretty much alarmed with accounts from different corners of this and some neighbouring islands, of persons being seized and carried aboard of a ship which put in to different places on this coast. Sir Alexander was both angry and concerned at that time to hear that some of his own people were taken in this manner; but could not

learn who were the actors in this wicked scrape till the ship was gone. One Norman Macleod, with a number of fellows that he had picked up to execute his intentions, were the real actors of this affair. Sir Alexander never made much noise about the thing in hopes that this Norman Macleod might some time or other cast up ; but he has never yet appeared in this part of the world, and probably never will, as the thing has made so much noise. His accomplices have betaken themselves to the hills, and lately robbed a servant of ours coming from Edinburgh out of pique to his master ; and one of them knocked him down and cut him over the head terribly. Sir Alexander is just now busy endeavouring to detect any of these rogues that may be yet in Skye, and hopes soon to apprehend some of those who have left it. Though this is the real matter of fact, Sir Alexander cannot help being concerned that he should be any ways mentioned in the story, though quite innocent. This affair has made so much noise with you, because of the way it has been represented from Ireland, that possibly there may be an intention of prosecuting Sir Alexander. If that should go on, though it cannot be dangerous to him, yet it cannot fail of being both troublesome and expensive. And therefore let me beg of your Lordship to write to the people of power above to prevent this impending evil, because a little time may bring the real actors to a trial, which I daresay your Lordship would rather see in a panel than imaginary persons that had no hand in the matter. Though I have no reason to believe your Lordship will be remiss in any affair of such consequence to us both, my anxiety obliges me to intreat you will take this affair so much into consideration that you will delay no time in making applications when you judge it proper ; and trust me, dear Justice, this favour shall make me with more gratitude than ever, your most obedient and ever devoted servant,

(Signed) MARGARET MACDONALD.

On the death of his father, in 1783, Norman succeeded as tacksman of Bernera, where he introduced many improvements in the system of farming then prevalent, began the manufacture of kelp on a large scale, imported stock of a superior kind and was considered one of the most enlightened and respected farmers of his day in the Western Isles. He is said to have been kind and con-

siderate to his tenants and to all those who, in his latter years were dependent upon him. He lived at Roosgarry at one end of the island "in ample style and had the finest cattle and the best sheep and horses," and he had several tenants whose crofts he induced them by his own example to cultivate right up to the hill-tops. He was so much ashamed of his kidnapping escapade in his earlier years that he strongly and angrily resented any reference to "Soitheach nan Daoine," the designation by which his old slave ship was commemorated among his countrymen.

Norman married Margaret, daughter of Macneil of Barra, with issue—

- |                      |   |                               |
|----------------------|---|-------------------------------|
| 1. John Macleod.     | } | All these died without issue. |
| 2. Roderick Macleod. |   |                               |
| 3. William Macleod.  |   |                               |
| 4. Donald Macleod.   |   |                               |

5. Isabella, who died at Orbost, unmarried, in 1839, and was succeeded there by her nephew, William Macleod of Orbost, father of the late Norman Alexander Macleod of Uiginish, who died in 1888.

6. Anne, who married Captain Norman Macleod of Bernisdale (who died in 1804), grandson of Roderick Macleod, first of Ulinish, with issue—Donald Macleod, Inspector-General of Army Hospitals in Bengal, who, born in 1778, died in 1840; and others. She died at Peninduin, Isle of Skye, in 1830.

7. Margaret, who married Angus Campbell of Ensay, with issue—a daughter, Margaret, who married William, son of Captain Norman Macleod of Bernisdale, and who succeeded to the property of Orbost on the death of her aunt Isabella. [See ORBOST MACLEODS.]

8. Janet; 9, Christian; and five others, who died young.

Having died without male issue, Norman was succeeded as representative of the family by his next brother,

VI. CAPTAIN ALEXANDER MACLEOD of the *Mansfield* East Indiaman. In 1779 he purchased from the Commissioners of General Macleod, XX. of Macleod, the estate of Harris, the Islands of Bernera, St. Kilda, and other

small isles adjoining them for the sum of £15,000. When he obtained possession of the ancient inheritance of his Chief, he went to reside at Rodel in Harris, and proceeded to make improvements on the property and introduce new industries among the people. In 1787 he rebuilt the old Cathedral at Rodel, as appears from the following Latin inscription on a large tablet in the wall inside the Church :—

“Aedes has sacras atavorum suorum pietate Deo et S. Clementi olim dicatas postquam mutatae religionis furor, omnia undique miscens et vastans, adjuncta fratrum et sororum coenobia solo aequasset, ipsisque his muris, jam plus c.c. annos nudis et neglectis vix pepercisset, restituit, et ornavit, et postea igne fortuito haustas iterum restauravit, Alexander Macleod de Herries, A.D., MDCCLXXXVII.”

The following is a translation :—

“This sacred edifice, dedicated by the piety of his forefathers in former times to God and St. Clement, after the fury of the Reformation, overturning and devastating everything everywhere, had levelled with the ground the adjoining convent of friars and nuns, and scarcely spared these very walls, now for over 200 years bare and neglected, Alexander Macleod of Harris restored and decorated, and, after its accidental destruction by fire, rebuilt a second time, A.D. 1787.”

Captain Macleod was a most enterprising man. He constructed an excellent harbour at Rodel, and built a storehouse for salt, casks, and meal, and a manufactory for spinning woollen and linen thread, and twine for herring-nets. He also introduced some East-country fishermen, with Orkney yawls, with the view of teaching the inhabitants how to fish. He erected a school and an inn in the district, and did a good deal of plantation, which vastly improved the appearance of the place. He also introduced the models of press, corn, and fulling-mills.

In 1786 he proposed to try fishing on the coast of Harris, near his own house, but was ridiculed by his tenants, who maintained that no fish could be got there, but Captain Macleod persisted in his experiment, and got, between the 10th of March and the 15th of April, no less than 4400 large cod and ling; between 400 and 500 skate; and immense quantities of dog-fish, large eels, and



boat-loads of cuddies. He gave the people every encouragement to engage in fishing, placing men in every loch, bay, or creek, providing them with boats, allowing them cottages and potato-ground rent-free, furnishing them with all necessaries at cost price, and taking their fish at full market value in payment of all he advanced to them.

Mr. Knox, who made a tour of the Highlands in 1786, and spent some time with the Captain at Rodel, says that Captain Macleod's conduct "ought to be a model for some proprietors in the Highlands, who, blinded by the representations of factors, and misled by their influence, have never permitted their tenantry to raise their heads, and are continually crushing them by new impositions upon their industry and upon every appearance of improvement; by which they are stripped of the fruits of their labour, to which the improver, and not the master, has, in common justice, the best right. The consequence of this squeezing system has invariably proved a fictitious, instead of a real rent-roll well paid; and thus each party impoverishes and distresses the other."

Captain Macleod did not meet with that encouragement for his efforts which they deserved, and they resulted in failure. He was one of the founders of the Gaelic Society of London and also an active member of the Highland Society.

He married his cousin, Helen Maclean of Boreray, with issue—

1. Alexander Norman Hume Macleod, his heir.

2. Donald Hume Macleod, who married, with issue—Frances Anne Mackenzie, who, on the 9th of April, 1877, married John D. Dundas.

3. Sophia.

4. Elizabeth, who, in 1784, married Robert Bruce Æneas Macleod of Cadboll, with issue.

Alexander was succeeded by his eldest son,

VII. ALEXANDER NORMAN HUME MACLEOD. On the 26th of April, 1804, he sold the Island of St. Kilda for £1350 to Colonel Donald Macleod of Achagoyle, father



of the late Sir John Macpherson Macleod, K.C.S.I., of Glendale, who, in 1871, resold it to the present Macleod of Macleod for £3000.

He married with issue—

1. Alexander Macleod.
2. Charles Macleod.
3. and 4., two other sons.
5. Louisa; and three other daughters.

He was succeeded as representative of the family by his eldest son,

VIII. ALEXANDER MACLEOD, who married and had issue—two sons, both of whom were killed in the Indian Mutiny, without issue, when the Macleods of Bernera became extinct in the male line.

## THE MACLEODS OF HAMER.

I. WILLIAM MACLEOD, first of the family of Hamer, was the fourth son of Sir Roderick Mor Macleod, XIII. of Dunvegan. He married a daughter of Munro of Inverawe, with issue—

1. Roderick, who died without surviving male issue.
2. William, designated of Oze and Waterstein.

He was succeeded as representative of the family by his second son,

II. WILLIAM MACLEOD, who married Catherine, daughter of John “Mac Dhomh’uill Ghlais” Macleod, II. of Drynoch, the famous warrior of Sir Rory Mor’s time, with issue—an only son and successor,

III. WILLIAM MACLEOD, who, in 1763, published a curious treatise on “Second Sight,” under the *nom de plume* of “Theophilus Insulanus.” On the 9th of May, 1763, the Rev. Norman Morrison, minister of Uig, Lewis, received a letter from Macleod, dated 30th March previously, asking him to take a copy of the book. Mr. Morrison replied, saying that he would take one, but at the same time assured Hamer that no one in the parish of Uig would read it but himself.

William married Margaret, eldest daughter of John Macleod, II. of Bernera and Contullich, eldest son of Sir Norman Macleod, first of Bernera, by his first wife Margaret, only child of John Mackenzie of Lochslinn, second son of Kenneth, first Lord Mackenzie, and brother of Colin, first Earl of Seaforth. By his wife, Margaret of Contullich, William Macleod had issue—

1. Norman, of Waterstein, who appears to have died without issue.
2. Alexander, who died young.

3. John, a Lieutenant in the army, who died unmarried.
4. Roderick Macleod of Lyndale, who carried on the representation of the family.
5. Isabella, who married Donald Macdonald, III. of Castleton, with issue.
6. Margaret, who married Macleod of Arnisdale, in Glenelg, from whom descended the late Donald Macleod, of Kingsburgh, and afterwards of Coulmore; General Coll Macleod, and others.

William Macleod, who died about 1770, was succeeded as representative of the family by his eldest son,

IV. NORMAN MACLEOD, who commanded one of the Independent Companies raised by Norman, XIX. of Macleod, in 1745. He died unmarried at a very advanced age (he being alive in 1798), when he was succeeded as representative of the family by his youngest and only surviving brother,

V. RODERICK MACLEOD, a pronounced anti-Jacobite and a loyal supporter of the Hanoverian dynasty. After Culloden, he was appointed by the Forfeited Estates Commissioners as factor to collect the rents of the forfeited estates in Skye and Uist, a duty which he performed with prudence and compassion towards those who had been placed at his mercy. Captain Thomas records the following regarding him:—"Hamer was travelling to Inverness with the King's rent, and had but one servant with him, who was very strong, but not very wise. Hamer was surprised by three robbers, as he was resting in a wood, and his servant was sleeping a little distance off. Resistance was useless, so he gave up the money. The robbers returned a crown to Hamer to pay his lodgings for a day and a night, but he declined it, and said that he would be obliged to them if they would give a good slap to wake up his lazy servant. The robbers treated the kilted Highlander very rudely, but he sprung up so suddenly that he wrested a gun from one of them in a moment, and killed two of them. The third fled; but Hamer, who had by this time got his gun, brought him down.

By the clever stratagem of getting the violent temper of his man aroused, he regained all his money. After this adventure, Hamer always got some soldiers to be a guard to him when taking the King's money to Inverness."\*

Roderick married Janet, daughter of John Macleod of Bay, with issue—

1. William, a Captain in the army.
2. Alexander, who went to the West Indies, and died there.

He was succeeded as representative of the family by his eldest son,

VI. CAPTAIN WILLIAM MACLEOD, who married Flora, daughter of John Macleod, X. of Gesto, with issue.

1. Donald, who was drowned at sea, unmarried.
2. Roderick, a Doctor of Medicine, who emigrated to Canada in 1820, and died there.
3. William, who was drowned.
4. Alexander, who died in Canada.
5. Olaus, who died in India.
6. Margaret, who, in 1820, married Duncan Cameron, Lochiel County, Glengarry, Canada, with issue — Sir Roderick Cameron, of Staten Island, New York, who, in 1883, was knighted by the Queen on her sixty-fourth birthday.

7. Kate, who died unmarried.

\* *Traditions of the Morrisons*, by Captain F. W. L. Thomas, R.N.

## THE MACLEODS OF GRESHORNISH.

I. DONALD MACLEOD, first of this family, was the fifth and youngest son of Sir Roderick Mor Macleod of Dunvegan, who died in 1626. He married, first, a daughter of Macdonald of Clanranald, with issue—

1. Alexander, his heir, who died before his father. This Alexander married and had issue—a daughter, Janet, who married, first, John Macleod, II. of Talisker, with issue. She married, secondly, Sir James Macdonald, XIII. of Sleat, with issue—Sir Alexander, his successor; Margaret, who married Sir Robert Douglas of Glenbervie, Baronet, author of the *Baronage*; Isabella, who died young; and Janet, who married Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Baronet, V. of Coul, with issue.

Donald Macleod of Greshornish married, secondly, a daughter of Fraser of Foyers, with issue—

2. Norman, who, on the death of his eldest brother, Alexander, became his father's heir, and afterwards succeeded as male representative of the family.

3. William Macleod of Cleigan, who married Julia, daughter of John, second son of Alexander Macleod, VII. of Raasay, with issue—Donald Macleod, who married Margaret, daughter of Sween Macsween of Roag, with issue—(1) John Macleod, a Captain in the army, who died without issue; (2) Donald Macleod, a Colonel in the Bengal Army, who married Miss Mackenzie, with issue—a daughter; (3) Olaus Macleod of Varkisaig, who married a daughter of John Macleod, IX. of Raasay, with issue—four daughters—(a) Flora, who married Dr. George Baillie, Edinburgh, with issue—one son; (b) Jane, who married Colonel Farrington, of the

Madras Artillery, with issue—eight sons and one daughter ; (c) Margaret, who married her cousin, Charles Macsween, Chief-Justice of Agra, in India, with issue—a daughter, who married Mr. Horne, of the Indian Civil Service, and Jessie, residing at Norwood, unmarried ; (d) Mary, who married Dr. Donald Martin of Moidart, and afterwards of Monkstadt, Skye, with issue—the Rev. Donald John Martin, at present Free Church Minister of Stornoway ; and three daughters, Julia Macleod ; Mary Anne ; and Flora Hastings, all three of whom died unmarried.

4. Roderick Macleod, progenitor of the Macleods of Ulinish and Dalvey, which see.

Donald, first of Greshornish, was succeeded by his eldest son by the second marriage,

II. NORMAN MACLEOD, who married Catherine, daughter of Lachlan Maclean, IX. of Coll, with issue—

1. Donald, his heir and successor.

2. Alexander, who married, with issue—a son, Donald.

3. Magnus, who died without issue.

4. A daughter, who married Donald Macneil, of Vatersay, son of Macneil of Barra, with issue.

Norman was succeeded by his eldest son,

III. THE REV. DONALD MACLEOD, third of Greshornish. He was educated for the Church, and was afterwards appointed parish minister of Duirinish, in the Isle of Skye. He was a very cultured man ; and that he possessed high poetical gifts is undoubted, from the high merit of the “Bean-nachadh Baird” which he composed to his bride on the first morning of her married life. In the olden times it was the custom in the Highlands for some one to meet the bride as she came out from her chamber accompanied by her maidens on the morning after her marriage, and to salute her with a poetical welcome called “Am Bean-nachadh Baird,” or the Poet’s Blessing. When the Rev. Donald Macleod of Greshornish, and minister of Duirinish married, no one was prepared to meet his bride with the usual salutation, the practice having by that time fallen into dissuetude. The reverend gentleman, however, de-



terminated that the time-honoured custom should not be dispensed with on the occasion of his marriage. He then composed the following pretty lines, full of wisdom and sage counsel, and saluted his bride himself as she came forth from her bridal chamber on the first morning of her wedded life :—

Mile failte dhut le d' bhreid,  
 Fad du re gu'n robh thu slan ;  
 Moran laithean dhut le sìth,  
 Le d' mhaithreas 'us le d' ni 'bhi fàs.  
 A chulaidh cheutach a chaidh suas,  
 'S tric a tarruing buaidh air mnaoi ;  
 Bi-sa gu subhailceach, céutach,  
 A thionnsgainn thu fein 's an stri.  
 An tùs do chomhradh 'us tu òg,  
 An tùs gach lò iarr Rìgh nan dùl,  
 'S cha 'n eagal nach dean thu gu ceart,  
 Gach dearbh bheachd a bhios na d' rùn.  
 Bi-sa fialaidh, ach bi glìc,  
 Bi misneachail, ach bi stòld' ;  
 Na bi bruidhneach, 's na bi balbh,  
 Na bi mear no marbh 's tu òg ;  
 Bi gléidhteach air do dhcagh rùn,  
 Ach na bi dùinte, 's na bi fuar,  
 Na labhair air neach gu h olc,  
 'S ge d' labhrair ort na taisbcan fuath ;  
 Na bi gearanach fo chrois,  
 Falbh socair le cùpa làn,  
 'Chaidh do'n olc na tabhair spèis,  
 'S le do bhrèid ort mìle fàilt.

We give a good translation of these beautiful lines, by the Rev. James Sutor, one of Macleod's successors in the same parish :—

Oh, now that matron curch proclaims thee mine  
 May health without alloy be ever thine !  
 Long be thy days, and undisturbed thy peace ;  
 Still may thy virtues, still thy stores increase.  
 Oft, in that dress in which thou'rt now arrayed,  
 Have woman's brightest virtues been displayed.  
 May thine be so ; and as thou hast begun  
 In life's gay spring, thy wedded course to run  
 To Heaven's High King each morn thy prayers address,  
 And hope from Him all that thy days can bless ;  
 Learn to be hospitable, not profuse,

True spirit show and yet due caution use.  
 Talk not too much, yet be not always mute ;  
 Thy years, nor giddiness, nor dullness suit ;  
 From sudden friendships, guard thyself with care,  
 And yet of coldness and reserve beware.  
 Speak ill of none, and should it be thy fate  
 To be reviled, never give place to hate.  
 When fortune frowns, be to thy lot resigned,  
 And when she smiles, lift not too high thy mind,  
 So every virtue shall thy path adorn,  
 Thus, thus, I hail thee on the bridal morn.

The following notice of the reverend gentleman's death appears in the *Scots Magazine* volume for 1760 :—

January 12th, 1760—Died at Durinish, in the Isle of Skye, Mr. Donald Macleod, minister of that parish, a gentleman who adorned his profession, not so much by a literary merit, of which he possessed a considerable share, as by the constant practice of the most useful and exalted virtues. To do good was the ruling passion of his heart. In compounding differences, in diffusing the spirit of peace and friendship, in relieving the distressed, in promoting the happiness of the widow and orphan, his zeal was almost unexampled, his activity unwearied, his success remarkably great. It is almost unnecessary to mention that he lived with a most amiable character and died universally regretted.

He married, with issue—

1. Norman, his heir.
2. Alexander, a Colonel in the Madras army, who died in 1805.
3. Catherine, who married Macdonald of Griminish.
4. Mary, who married Hugh Maclean of Trumpan.
5. Alexandrina, who married, first, William Bethune, and secondly, a Mr. Watson.
6. Margaret, who, at the age of sixteen, married, as his third wife, the famous Donald Macleod of Bernera, who was at the date of this marriage seventy-five years of age, with issue—three sons and six daughters.

The Rev. Donald Macleod was succeeded as representative of the family by his eldest son,

IV. NORMAN MACLEOD, fourth of Greshornish, who

married his cousin Margaret, daughter of Alexander Macleod, of Ulinish, Sheriff of Skye. Boswell, who with Dr. Johnson, met her at her father's house in Skye, during the famous tour to the Hebrides in 1773, says of her that "though she was never out of Skye, she was a very well-bred woman." By her Norman had issue—a daughter, Nora Macleod, who married Donald Murray. Norman was alive in 1798.

## THE MACLEODS OF ULINISH.

I. RODERICK MACLEOD, first of Ulinish, was the fourth son of Donald Macleod, I. of Greshornish, fifth and youngest son of Sir Roderick Mor Macleod, XIII. of Dunvegan. He married Margaret, daughter of John Macleod, II. of Talisker, with issue—

1. Donald Macleod, his heir.

2. Alexander Macleod, Sheriff of Skye in 1773, from whom the Macleods of Dalvey, which see.

3. The Rev. William Macleod, minister successively of Bracadale and Campbelton. He married Isabella, daughter of Donald Macleod of Bernera, with issue.

4. John, who, by his wife, Isabella Macdonald of Sleat (they having eloped from a public school in Inverness at the ages respectively of sixteen and fourteen years), had a son, Donald Macleod. This Donald was a most remarkable man, a gallant soldier, and a skilled swordsman. In a memoir of him published in 1791, he is said to have been then 103 years of age, having been “born at Ulinishmore on the 20th of June, 1688, as appears from the parish register of Bracadill.” John, Donald’s father, had two other sons, Alexander and Roderick ; and one daughter, Agnes, at whose birth, in 1694, her mother died ; when he entered upon a military life, became a Captain of Marines in a ship of war, and was killed at Belleisle in 1761. His children, in his absence, were brought up by their grandfather, Roderick Macleod of Ulinish, whose own children and grandchildren at the time are said to have numbered twenty-three. The times were hard, and the old man found it difficult to provide for such a large family. The

following description of how even the sons of gentlemen were clad and fed in those days is worth preserving :—

“They were clothed with a woollen shirt, a kilt, or short petticoat, and a short coat, or rather a waistcoat with sleeves, reaching down and buttoned at the wrist. This was the whole of their clothing. No hats, nor bonnets, no stockings, nor yet shoes, either in summer or winter! in sunshine, rain, frost, or snow! If the elder boys had one pair of brogues, or coarse shoes, formed rudely by leathern thongs out of raw and undressed hides, it was rather for ornament than use; for particular solemnities than for constant wear. For the most part, their heads, necks, legs and feet were quite bare. It was only when the youth approached to manhood, and became, as we would say, beaus, that they were indulged with either shoes or bonnets. How, thus slightly attired, they could endure the rigour of an hyperboreal winter, appears to be astonishing and scarcely credible. But mark what I am going to relate. In the mornings, the moment they came out of bed, they washed themselves all over in large tubs of cold water, which seasoned them to the weather, whatever it was, and gave them the temperature of the day. In the evening again, they washed with cold water before their going to bed. This second ablution was necessary to clear away the dirt occasioned by going without shoes and stockings. This application of water was the more necessary, that the use of linen was then but little known, or in fashion.”

At nine years of age, Donald was sent to Inverness, and bound as an apprentice mason and stonecutter. Soon after, however, he absconded, and, after many difficulties and much fatigue, he found his way on foot to Perth, where shortly afterwards, he enlisted, at the age of thirteen, as a private in the Royal Scots, then commanded by the Earl of Orkney. There was a Captain Macdonald in the regiment, who turned out to be a relation of Donald, and he naturally took much interest in him. Donald fought through the whole of the famous campaign of 1704-13, under the Duke of Marlborough, and took an active part in all the leading battles fought under that distinguished General between that year and the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, including Blenheim and Ramillies. He was, as we

have said, an expert swordsman, and fought several successful duels during his long period of service in the army. He was in the Hanoverian army in 1715, and distinguished himself at Sheriffmuir. He was early raised to the rank of Sergeant. In 1720 he left the Royal Scots, and became recruiting and afterwards drill-sergeant to Simon, Lord Lovat, in the raising of one of the Independent companies subsequently formed into the 43rd, now the 42nd Regiment, Royal Highlanders (the Black Watch). He afterwards fought at Fontenoy; at Louisburg, in America; and at the Siege of Quebec, under General Wolfe, though then in his seventy-first year. In this last engagement he was severely wounded and was invalided home, having the honour of forming one of the escort in charge of the body of General Wolfe on the passage to Britain in November, 1759. Donald's life was altogether a stirring and most interesting one. When the memoir, from which we take these facts, came to an end, he was then in the enjoyment of good health and spirits, though then in the 103rd year of his age. He had been married three times, and had a very numerous family. He could not himself tell the exact number of his children by his different wives, as he had lost sight of many of them for years before. His eldest son, however, was living at the age of eighty-three, when his father's biography was published, while his youngest child was only nine years old. Twelve of his sons were in the King's service, either as soldiers or sailors, and several of his daughters had married well. A full account of Donald's career appeared in the *Scottish Highlander* of 19th January to 23rd February, 1888.

5. A daughter who married John, son of John Dubh Mackinnon of Mackinnon. He died in 1737 before his father, without male issue. There were, however, four daughters of this marriage, the third of whom, Florence, married Ranald, XXIII. of Clanranald, with issue—his heir and successor.

Roderick was succeeded by his eldest son,

II. DONALD MACLEOD, who had two sons—



1. Alexander Macleod of London, of whose descendants, if any, nothing is known.

2. Norman Macleod of Bernisdale, who was a Captain in the army. He married Anne (who died in 1830), second daughter of Norman Macleod of Bernera, and died at Peninduin in 1804, leaving issue—(1) Donald, Macleod (born in 1778), Inspector-General of Army Hospitals in Bengal. He died at Calcutta on the 12th of November, 1840, leaving issue—a daughter, Anne, who married William Comperus Macleod of the ancient family of Borline, who was born about 1815. This William entered the Madras Army, and was afterwards employed in the Civil Service in Burmah as Assistant to the Commissioner of Tenasserim, in which capacity he travelled much into the interior of the country. He subsequently, in 1858, commanded the 30th Madras Native Infantry at Maulmain, and afterwards, in 1864, the Burmah Division at Rangoon. Having retired as Major-General, he died in 1881. By his wife, Anne Macleod, he had issue, besides Arthur John, Duncan Roderick, and Catherine Jane, who died young in Maulmain—(a) William Sim Macleod, who, born in 1842, served in the 1st Madras Cavalry, and became a Lieutenant-Colonel, in the Madras Staff Corps. For several years he was Superintendent of the Vellore prison, and died on the 7th of March, 1888. He was married to a daughter of Dr. Porteous, with issue. (b) Donald James Sim Macleod, who served in the 1st Madras Cavalry, and afterwards in the Quarter-Master General's Department in Madras. He is now a Lieutenant-Colonel, wearing the Distinguished Service Order. He married, in 1878, Camilla, daughter of Colonel Nicolas of the Madras Staff Corps, with issue. (c) Norman Frederick Macleod, now in the Department of Public Works in India. (d) Charles Eldred Macleod, B.A. of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, now a solicitor, residing at Hampstead, London. (e) Reginald George Macqueen Macleod, a Lieutenant in the Royal Artillery. (2) Alexander Macleod, second son of Norman Macleod, of

Bernisdale, was drowned in the West Indies. (3) William Macleod, third son of Norman Macleod of Bernisdale, was the first of the MACLEODS OF ORBOST, which see. (4) Lieutenant Roderick Macleod, killed at the siege of St. Sebastian. (5) Archibald Macleod of Mary Vale, New South Wales; and (6) Margaret, who married the late Rev. Coll Macdonald, Portree.

Donald Macleod, second of Ulinish, was succeeded as representative of the family by

III. ALEXANDER MACLEOD, described by Douglas as "of London," but his history, or descendants, if any, we have been unable to trace.

## THE MACLEODS OF DALVEY.

THE MACLEODS OF DALVEY are descended from the family of Greshornish, the first of whom was Donald, fifth and youngest son of Sir Roderick Mor Macleod, XIII. of Dunvegan. Donald Macleod was twice married, and by his second wife, a daughter of Fraser of Foyers, he had three sons, the youngest of whom,

RODERICK MACLEOD, became first of the Macleods of Ulinish. This Roderick, who married Margaret, daughter of John Macleod, II. of Talisker, had issue—several sons, the second of whom was

ALEXANDER MACLEOD, Sheriff of Skye, who entertained Dr. Johnson at Ulinish during his tour to the Hebrides in 1773. In a memoir of Donald Macleod, his nephew, published in 1791, it is said, “Alexander Macleod, Esq. of Ulinish, Sheriff of a district of Inverness-shire, his uncle, is now in the 100th year of his age.” Boswell says that “Mr. Macleod of Ulinish, the Sheriff-substitute of the island, was a plain honest gentleman, a good deal like an English justice of peace; not much given to talk, but sufficiently sagacious and somewhat droll. His daughter [Margaret] though she was never out of Skye, was a very well-bred woman.” He also informs us that “there is a plentiful garden at Ulinish (a great rarity in Skye), and several trees; and near the house is a hill, which has an Erse name signifying ‘the hill of strife,’ where Mr. Macqueen informed us, justice was of old administered. It is like the *mons placiti* of Scone, or those hills which are called *larvs*, such as Kelly Law, North Berwick Law, and

several others. It is singular that this spot should happen now to be the Sheriff's residence."

Sheriff Macleod married, with issue—

1. Roderick Macleod, a Lieutenant in the British Army, killed in America. On the second day of Dr. Johnson's visit to Ulinish he got into a controversy with this Roderick as to the authenticity of Macpherson's *Ossian*. Boswell gives the following account of the discussion:—"I took Fingal down to the parlour in the morning, and tried a test proposed by Mr. Roderick Macleod, son of Ulinish. Mr. Macqueen had said he had some of the poem in the original. I desired him to mention any passage in the printed book, of which he could repeat the original. He pointed out one in page 50 of the quarto edition, and read the Erse, while Mr. Roderick Macleod and I looked on the English; and Mr. Macleod said it was pretty like what Mr. Macqueen had recited. But when Mr. Macqueen read a description of Cuchullin's sword in Erse, together with a translation of it in English verse by Sir James Foulis, Mr. Macleod said that was much more like than Mr. Macpherson's translation of the former passage. Mr. Macqueen then repeated in Erse a description of one of the horses in Cuchullin's car. Mr. Macleod said Mr. Macpherson's English was nothing like it. When Dr. Johnson came down I told him that I had now obtained some evidence concerning Fingal; for that Mr. Macqueen had repeated a passage in the original Erse, which Mr. Macpherson's translation was pretty like; and reminded him that he himself had once said he did not require Mr. Macpherson's *Ossian* to be more like the original than Pope's *Homer*. JOHNSON—"Well, sir, this is just what I always maintained. He had found names, and stories, and phrases, nay passages in old songs, and with them has blended his own compositions, and so made what he gives to the world as the translation of an ancient poem." If this was the case, I observed, it was wrong to publish it as a poem in six books. JOHNSON—"Yes, sir; and to ascribe it to a time too when the Highlanders

knew nothing of books, and nothing of six; or perhaps got the length of counting six. We have been told, by Condamine, of a nation that could count no more than four. This should be told to Monboddo; it would help him. There is as much charity in helping a man down-hill, as in helping him up-hill.' BOSWELL—'I don't think there is as much charity.' JOHNSON—'Yes, sir, if his tendency be downwards. Till he is at the bottom, he flounders; get him once there, and he is quiet. Swift tells that Stella had a trick, which she learned from Addison, of encouraging a man in absurdity, instead of endeavouring to extricate him.' Mr. Macqueen's answers to the enquiries concerning Ossian were so unsatisfactory that I could not help observing that, were he examined in a court of justice, he would find himself under a necessity of being more explicit. JOHNSON—'Sir, he has told Blair a little too much, which is published; and he sticks to it. He is so much at the heads of things here, that he has never been accustomed to be closely examined; and so he goes on quite smoothly?' BOSWELL—'He has never had any body to work him!' JOHNSON—'No, sir, and a man is seldom disposed to work himself, though he ought to work himself to be sure.' Mr. Macqueen made no reply." We shall now revert to the other members of Sheriff Macleod's family.

2. Norman Macleod, a Major in the Army of Bengal, killed at Rohilcund.

3. Alexander Macleod, I. of Dalvey.

4. Margaret, who married Norman Macleod, IV. of Greshornish, with issue—a daughter, Nora, who married Donald Murray.

I. ALEXANDER MACLEOD, first of Dalvey, a Major in the Army, married Marion, fourth daughter of Donald Macleod of Bernera (by his third wife, Margaret, daughter of Donald Macleod, III. of Greshornish), with issue—

1. Norman William Cowper Macleod, his heir and successor.

2. Roderick N. Macleod, born at Forres, 17th July,

1798, an officer in the army. He died abroad, unmarried.

3. Donald Alexander Macleod, who was a surgeon in the H.E.I.C.S. He married in 1854, Charlotte, eldest daughter of Edward Humphrey Woodcock, H.E.I.C.S. He was born in 1801, and died in 1872, leaving issue—(1) Norman Macleod, who, on the death of his uncle Norman in 1876, succeeded to Dalvey. (2) Alexander Edward Macleod, born in 1858, of Druim, Virginia, U.S.A. (3) Roderick Mackintosh Macleod, born in 1860, now with his brother in Virginia. (4) Donald John Macleod, a solicitor in Great Malvern, born in 1863. (5) Harold Hay Brodie Macleod, born in 1865, a medical student at King's College Hospital, London. (6) Charlotte Marion; and (7) Anna Mary, both residing at Dalvey.

4. John Charles Macleod, born in 1807. He died unmarried.

5. Marion Macleod, who married Colonel Hay of Westerton, with issue.

6. Margaret Macleod, who married her cousin, Donald Maclean of Boreray, North Uist, without issue.

7. Flora Macleod, who died young.

8. Isabella Macleod, who married Andrew Robertson, H.E.I.C.S., with issue.

9. Mary Macleod, who, as his first wife, married the late Æneas Mackintosh of Daviot, without issue.

10. Charlotte, who, as his second wife, married Alexander Mackintosh, XXVI. of Mackintosh, with issue—(1) Alexander Æneas, late of Mackintosh, born in 1847, and died, without male issue, in December, 1875. (2) Alfred Donald, now of Mackintosh. (3) Æneas Norman, born in 1854. (4) Marion Charlotte, who died young. (5) Mary Archange. (6) Isabella Ann, who, in 1873, married Charles Thomas Part, barrister-at-law, of Aldenham Lodge, Hertfordshire, with issue.

Alexander Macleod, first of Dalvey, died in 1822, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

II. NORMAN WILLIAM COWPER MACLEOD. He was born at Waternish, Isle of Skye, in 1795, and died



unmarried in 1876, when he was succeeded by his nephew,

III. NORMAN MACLEOD, now of Dalvey, a Captain in the 42nd Regiment, Royal Highlanders (Black Watch). He was born in 1857, and in 1875 joined the 42nd as sub-Lieutenant. He was promoted as Lieutenant immediately afterwards, and became Captain in 1886. He was with his regiment in Egypt and the Soudan from 1882 to 1884; and was wounded both at El Teb and Tamai. He was mentioned in Lord Wolseley's dispatches for his services in these campaigns.

## THE MACLEODS OF ORBOST.

THE MACLEODS OF ORBOST are descended from Donald Macleod, I. of Greshornish, youngest son of Roderick Mor Macleod, XIII. of Dunvegan. Donald was twice married, and by his second wife, a daughter of Fraser of Foyers, he had three sons. Roderick, the youngest, succeeded to Ulinish, and married Margaret, daughter of John Macleod, II. of Talisker, with issue—three sons, the eldest of whom, Donald, had two sons—(1) Alexander ; and (2)

NORMAN MACLEOD of Bernisdale, a Captain in the Army, who married Anne, youngest daughter of Norman Macleod of Unish and V. of Bernera, with issue—(1) Donald Macleod, Inspector-General of Army Hospitals in Bengal. (2) Alexander Macleod, drowned in the West Indies. (3) William Macleod, who succeeded to Orbost. (4) Roderick Macleod, a Lieutenant in the Army, killed at the Siege of St. Sebastian. (5) Archibald Macleod of Maryvale, New South Wales ; and (6) Margaret, who married the late Rev. Coll Macdonald, parish minister of Portree.

Norman Macleod, V. of Bernera (eldest son of Donald Macleod of the 'Forty-five, by his first wife, Anne, daughter of Roderick Macleod, XVII. of Dunvegan, by his wife, Isabel, daughter of Kenneth, third Earl of Seaforth), had, by his wife, Margaret Macneil of Barra, three daughters—(1) Isabel, who possessed Orbost in her own right. (2) Margaret, who married Campbell of Ensay, with issue—a

daughter, Margaret, who married her cousin William, son of Captain Norman Macleod of Bernisdale ; and (3) Anne, who married Captain Norman Macleod of Bernisdale, who died in 1804. By Anne of Bernera, who died at Peninduin, Isle of Skye, in 1830, Captain Norman Macleod of Bernisdale had issue—

I. WILLIAM MACLEOD, first of Orbost, who married his cousin Margaret, daughter of Campbell of Ensay. On the death of their maternal aunt, Isabel Macleod of Orbost, unmarried, in 1839, William and his wife succeeded to her property as joint heirs, being respectively Miss Macleod's nephew and niece.

By his wife, Margaret Campbell of Ensay, William of Orbost had issue—

1. Norman Alexander, his heir.
2. Angus Campbell, who died unmarried in Australia.
3. William Campbell, a Lieutenant in the Merchant Navy, who died unmarried, at Cronstadt.
4. Donald, drowned in his youth.
5. Margaret, who married the late Rev. Hector Mackenzie, minister of Moy, Inverness-shire, with issue—one son, William, now in Canada.
6. Isabella, who married John Mackinnon, Kyle, Isle of Skye, with issue—four sons and five daughters.
7. Anne, who married the late Major Colin Lyon-Mackenzie of St. Martins, for many years Provost of Inverness, with issue—(1) Captain Colin Lyon-Mackenzie, now of St. Martins and Braelangwell. (2) Margaret Campbell, who, as his second wife, married Alexander Macdonald, now of Balranald, North Uist, and of Edenwood, Fifeshire, with issue. (3) Florance ; (4) Helen ; (5) Mary Anne ; and (6) Annie Isabella.

William Macleod, first of Orbost, was succeeded by his eldest son,

II. CAPTAIN NORMAN ALEXANDER MACLEOD, who also had a tack of the Island of Rum. Orbost was sold several years ago, to the late Kenneth Macleod, XII. of Gesto, who left it to the present proprietor, his grand-nephew,

Kenneth Robertson-Macleod of Greshornish and Orbost. Captain Norman Macleod was tacksman of the farm of Uiginish, on the estate of Macleod of Macleod until his death in 1888. He married, in 1874, Maria, second daughter of the late Major Ewen Macpherson of Glentruim, with issue—

1. William Colin, born in 1877.
2. Helen Maria; 3. Margaret Campbell; and 4. Louisa Barbara.

## THE MACLEODS OF LEWIS.

THE origin of the Macleods and the respective claims of the two leading families of Harris and Lewis to seniority of descent and to the Chiefship of the Clan, are discussed at the commencement of the work [pp. 1-5]; it is therefore unnecessary to reproduce that discussion here. It is admitted by both families that

OLAVE THE BLACK, son of Godfred the Black, King of Man, who died about 1187, received from his brother Reginald the Island of Lewis for his heritage at the age of ten years, and that he subsequently succeeded, about 1226, by the aid of Paul, Sheriff of Skye, in repossessing himself of the then Sovereign Kingdom of Man and the Isles. Olave died about 1237, leaving, by his first wife, a lady belonging to one of the leading families of Kintyre, three sons—Harold, Reginald, and Magnus, all of whom ruled in succession as Kings of Man and the Isles. Magnus died at the Castle of Ross in 1266, without issue, and the Island Kingdom came to an end in the same year, Man and the Isles having been surrendered by the King of Norway to Alexander the Third of Scotland, in terms of a treaty dated 1266.

Olave the Black had no issue by his second marriage,

but by his third wife, Christina, daughter of Farquhar, Earl of Ross, he had three sons. The eldest was

# I. LEOD, LEODUS, OR LOYD,

From whom descended the Macleods of Harris and Lewis. Being a minor when his father died, he was brought up and fostered in the family of Paul, son of Boke, Sheriff of Skye, who had always been a supporter of Leod's father, Olave the Black, and who was one of the most powerful men of his day in the Western Isles. Leod, already possessed of what is known in modern times as the Island of Lewis, was presented by his foster-father, Paul, Sheriff of Skye, with the lands of Harris, while his grandfather, the Earl of Ross, made over to him a part of the Barony of Glenelg. Both these extensive estates afterwards became the heritage of Leod's eldest son Norman, progenitor of the Macleods of Harris and Dunvegan.

Leod, who flourished in the reign of Alexander III. [1249-1285], acquired also other vast possessions, by his marriage with the only daughter and heiress of MacRaid Armuinn, a Danish knight, who owned, and left to his daughter and son-in-law, Leod, the extensive lands of Dunvegan, Minginish, Bracadale, Duirinish, Lyndale, and part of Troternish, in the Isle of Skye.

By this marriage with MacRaid Armuinn's only daughter and the heiress of Dunvegan, Leod had issue—

1. Tormod, progenitor of the Macleods of Harris, Glenelg, and Dunvegan.

2. Torquil, progenitor of the Macleods of Lewis, Water-nish, Assynt, Coigeach, Gairloch, Raasay, and their offshoots.

There appears to be no doubt that the name "Lewis" is simply the modern form of the original name "Leodus"—in Gaelic "Leodhas"—which at first included Harris. And this corroborates the unbroken tradition that this earlier and larger Lewis was the earliest heritage of Leod or Leodus, the common progenitor of the whole Clan. The fact, therefore, that the Lewis of modern times was given by Leod in patrimony to Torquil, progenitor of



the Macleods of Lewis, in no way supports the contention of the latter that they are the oldest family, and that the head of their house was consequently the head and Chief of the whole Clan.

It is, however, but fair that the reasons given by the Macleods of Lewis in support of their claim to the Chiefship should be stated, so that the reader may judge for himself as to their cogency. They maintain, first, that their progenitor, Torquil, succeeded his father, Leod, in the Island of Lewis, the original patrimony of the family; secondly, that the descendants of Torquil always carried in their armorial bearings the arms of the Kings of Man and the Isles, their paternal ancestors; and, thirdly, that it has been the unvaried tradition in the family that Torquil was the eldest brother, and this they say is confirmed by Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Lord Lyon King-at-Arms, and by Buchanan's *History of the Origin of the Clans*, published in 1723. Leod did not, however, at first possess all the Lewis of that date, which as has been already shown, included Harris, and which portion of it was only presented to him by the Sheriff of Skye, who then owned it, long after he received what we now call Lewis.

The Island of Lewis, which with Harris formed the "Llodthus" of the Sagas, and the residence of whose lords was the Castle of Stornoway, appears on record in 1263, when Haco, King of Norway, visited it. He afterwards touched at it on his expedition in the same year against Scotland. In 1292 the lands of "Lodoux" (Lewis) are included in the Sherifffdom of Skye, erected by King John Balliol. In 1335 Edward Balliol granted in heritage to John, first Lord of the Isles, for his allegiance, the Isle of "Lewethy" (Lewis), and other lands; and in 1336 Edward III. of England confirmed this grant. In 1344 David II. of Scotland granted the same lands to the same John of the Isles, and they are found in his possessions in 1367. In 1382 or 1383 King Robert II. granted to his own son, Alexander Stewart, Earl of Buchan, and to Lady Euphemia, Countess of Ross, the

baronies and lordship of Skye and the Lewis, which Lady Euphemia had just previously resigned. Lewis and the other Isles named were forfeited by John, fourth Lord of the Isles, in 1475. They were, however, restored to him in 1476, and again confirmed to him by James III. in 1478. In 1493 they were again forfeited by the same Lord of the Isles.\*

From this it appears conclusive that the Lewis was held for many generations under the Lords of the Isles, who were the immediate superiors under the Crown. According to Skene, the first charter in favour of the Macleods of Lewis from the Crown on record is one by David II., of the barony of Assynt, to Torquil Macleod, and in that charter he is not designated "of the Lewis" or indeed of any place whatever. But a charter by Donald of the Isles, grandson of Somerled, Thane of Argyle, in which he styles himself King of the Isles, in favour of Lord John Bisset, dated at Donald's Castle of Dingwall, on the 19th of January, 1245, is witnessed by his "beloved cousines and councillors," Macleod of Lewis and Macleod of Harris.

It will be seen that Harris was a portion of the "Llodthus," or Lewis, of those days, as indeed it has always been geographically, for they both comprise but one Island, without any channel between them; and it appears to have been divided between the two sons of Leod, Norman and Torquil. This fact goes far to upset the argument on which the descendants of Torquil base their claim to the Chiefship—upon his having succeeded to what is known in modern times as the Lewis, but which only formed a portion of what was known as the Llodthus, Leodhas, or Lewis of that period.

Leod was succeeded in his part of the Lewis of that day by his second son,

## II. TORQUIL MACLEOD,

Second of Lewis, of whose history nothing is known.

\* *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, p. 382.

From him the Macleods of Lewis derive their Gaelic patronymic of *Siol Thorcuil*, or Torquil's descendants. Born in the reign of Alexander III., he died in that of King Robert the Bruce.—[1306-1329]. He married Dorothea, daughter of William, Earl of Ross, his superior in the lands of Lewis, with issue—

1. Norman, his heir and successor.

2. Finguala, who married Kenneth Mackenzie, III. of Kintail, with issue—Murdoch, who carried on the succession, and died in 1375.

Torquil was succeeded by his only son,

### III. NORMAN MACLEOD,

Third of Lewis, who did not long survive his father. He married, with issue, one son, who succeeded him—

### IV. TORQUIL MACLEOD,

Fourth of Lewis. Douglas, giving as his authority the "Index to King David's Book of Charters in the Public Archives," says that this Torquil was granted a charter by King David II.—*Torquilo Macleod de Lewis, terrarum baronie de Assynt cum fortalicio*, etc. Skene, however, points out [*Highlanders of Scotland*, Vol. II., p. 274] that Torquil is not designated "de Lewis" in this charter, "nor has he any designation whatever" in it. Gregory informs us that from 1344 "the Siol Torquil held Lewis as vassals of the house of Isla," and that in the same reign [David the Second's] Torquil Macleod, Chief of the tribe, had a royal grant of the lands of Assint in Sutherland.\* This extensive barony Torquil obtained by marriage with Margaret MacNicol, heiress of the lands in question. These were afterwards, early in the fifteenth century, given in vassalage by Roderick Macleod, V. of Lewis, to his own younger son, Tormod, progenitor of the later Macleods of Assynt, Geanies, and Cadboll.

Torquil Macleod died in the reign of Robert II.—

\* *History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, pp. 72-73.

[1371-1390]—when he was succeeded by his only son by Margaret MacNicol of Assynt,

## V. RODERICK MACLEOD,

Fifth of Lewis. "In 1449 a charter of John of Yle is witnessed by Roderick Macleoid of Leoghuis."\* He married Margaret, daughter of the Lord of the Isles, with issue—

1. Torquil, his heir and successor.

2. Tormod, to whom he gave the Barony of Assynt, and from whom are descended the Macleod families of Assynt, Geanies, and Cadboll, an account of which will be given in their proper order.

3. Margaret, who, as his second wife, married William Mackintosh, VII. of Mackintosh, with issue; among others, Malcolm Beg, who succeeded his nephew, Ferquhard, as X. of Mackintosh, and carried on the succession, though his uncle Ferquhard left three sons, the eldest of whom was the legal heir.†

Roderick died at an advanced age, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

## VI. TORQUIL MACLEOD.

Sixth of Lewis. He is said to have made "a great figure" in the reign of James II. [1437-1460.] A charter by the same John of Yle, whose charter was witnessed by this man's father, Roderick Macleod, in 1449, was "wit-

\* *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, p. 382; and Register of the Great Seal, XIII., No. 186.

† According to the *History of the Mackintoshes and Clanchattan* by Alexander Mackintosh Shaw, 1880, Ferquhard the IXth chief "gave up a position which he had neither the ability to fill, nor the wish to retain," his three sons at the same time being cut off from the succession. It would thus appear that the subsequent *de facto* heads of the Mackintoshes are not the legitimate Chiefs of their own clan, to say nothing of their claim to be the Chiefs of Clanchattan. All Ferquhard's sons had issue, and they are said to have several descendants now living.

nessed by Torquil Macleoid of Leoghosh,"\* in 1461. He married, with issue—his heir and successor,

## VII. RODERICK MACLEOD,

Seventh of Lewis, who is on record in 1476, in 1478, 1493, and 1494. In the latter year, Roderick of the Lewis and John MacIan of Ardnamurchan made their submission to James IV.† Gregory says that this Roderick was grandson of a former Chief also named Roderick. In a Latin charter, under the Great Seal, dated 10th November, 1495, in favour of Hugh Macdonald, first of Sleat, he is designated "Roderico Macleod de Leoghys," and Gregory says that he was "the head of the Siol Torquil" in 1493.

He married, first, Margaret, daughter of John Macleod, VI. of Harris and Dunvegan, with issue—

1. A son who was mortally wounded at the Battle of the Bloody Bay near Tobermory, while fighting for John, Lord of the Isles, against his bastard son, Angus Og. He died shortly afterwards on his way home, at Dunvegan Castle, without issue.‡

Roderick married secondly, Agnes, eldest daughter of Kenneth Mackenzie—"Coinneach a Bhlairst"—IX. of Kintail, by Agnes Fraser, daughter of Hugh Fraser, third Lord Lovat, with issue—

2. Torquil, who, on the death of his eldest brother, became his father's heir.

3. Malcolm, who, in 1511, succeeded his brother Torquil who had been forfeited in his estates in 1506.

4. A daughter, who, as his second wife, married Allan Macleod of Gairloch, with issue—Ruairidh MacAilein, otherwise known as "Ruairidh Nimhneach," author of the massacre of the Macleods of Raasay and Gairloch at Island Islay.

\* *Argyll Charters.*

† *Register of the Great Seal*, June, 1494, VIII., 128, 123.

‡ The Sleat Seanachaidh says in his description of the engagement that "the galley of the heir of Torkill [should be Roderick] of the Lewis, with all his men, was taken, and himself mortally wounded with two arrows, whereof he died soon after at Dunvegan."—*Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, p. 317.

He died in 1498, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

### VIII. TORQUIL MACLEOD,

Eight of Lewis, who has a charter under the Great Seal—*“Torquilo Macleod de Lewes, de officio balivatus omnium terrarum regi in Troternish, jacen. infra insulam de Skye, in forisfacturam Johannis, olim domini insularum, tenend. dicto Torquilo et hæredibus suis inter ipsum et Catharinam Campbell, fororem Archibaldi comitis de Argyll, legitime procreand quibus deficientibus, regi et hæredibus suis revertend, datum apud novum castrum de Kilkerran in Kintyre. 28vo. Junii, 1498.”* Torquil now, by the death of his father, Lord of Lewis, accompanied by Alexander Crotach Macleod of Dunvegan, in the summer of 1498 paid homage to James IV. at the head of Loch Kilkerran, where His Majesty held a Court at a castle then recently erected by him. In October of the same year Torquil has a charter under the Great Seal granting him the office of Bailliary of Troternish, with eight merks of the land, described as being then in the hands of the Crown by the forfeiture of the Lord of the Isles, though only in August, two months before, a grant of the same Bailliary, with two unciates of the land now given to Macleod of Lewis, was made by a similar charter to Alexander Macleod, VIII. of Dunvegan.\*

On the liberation of Donald Dubh of the Isles from his imprisonment in the Castle of Inchconnel, he at once repaired to Torquil Macleod of the Lewis, who was married to Catharine, daughter of Colin, first Earl of Argyll, and sister of Donald's mother. Macleod took him under his protection, warmly espoused his cause, and at once set about securing for him the support of the other West Island Chiefs in his efforts to establish himself as Lord of the Isles. Through the Earl of Argyll, Macian of Ardnarmurchan, and Stewart of Appin, all of whom were at the time in regular communication with the Court, the King very soon heard of Donald's escape and Torquil's

\* *Reg. of the Great Seal*, XIII., 305 and 377.



support of his claims. The King and Council determined, if possible, at once to put a stop to the movement, charged Torquil, under the penalty of high treason, immediately to deliver up the person of Donald Dubh, who was described in the charge as then at Macleod's "rule and governance." Torquil paid no attention to the Royal demands, and he was formally denounced a rebel, and all his possessions were forfeited to the Crown. In 1502 directions were given, in a Commission granted to the Earl of Huntly, Lord Lovat, and William Munro of Fowlis, to expel all "broken men" from the Lewis, which really meant, in the disturbed state of affairs at the time, the expulsion of the whole population from the island. Macleod answered by at once proclaiming Donald Dubh as Lord of the Isles. In the meantime he prevailed upon the Highland Chiefs to join him in the insurrection, among others being Maclean of Duart, and Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, who, in 1504, were declared traitors, and had their estates forfeited.

In 1505 most of the leaders of the insurrection made submission to an expedition to the Western Isles conducted by the King in person, and the confederacy of the Island Chiefs was dissolved. Torquil Macleod, however, with a few others, who had no hope of the Royal pardon being extended to them, still held out, and in 1506 another expedition to reduce them was rendered necessary. The Lord of Lewis was solemnly forfeited in his life and property by Parliament, and for the purpose of carrying the sentence into execution the Earl of Huntly, in 1506, proceeded at the head of a considerable force to the Lewis. The Castle of Stornoway was besieged and finally taken, and the whole island was subdued. Whether Torquil himself was killed or effected his escape it is impossible to say; for no further trace of him is found. His lands of Assynt and Coigeach were granted in life-rent to Y Mackay of Strathnaver, who took a prominent part in the expedition sent against him.

On the 29th of April, 1508, James VI. commanded the Bishop of Caithness, Ranald Alansoun of Clanranald,

and Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan, to let for five years to sufficient tenants the lands of Lewis and Waternish in Skye, forfeited by Torquil Macleod, and on the 7th of June they received further instructions to proceed to Lewis on the same business, taking their directions from Alexander, Earl of Huntly.

Torquil married, first, Catherine Campbell, daughter of the first Earl of Argyll, apparently without issue.

He married, secondly, a daughter of John Cathanach Macdonald of Islay and the Glynnns, widow of Donald Gallach, third, and mother of Donald Gruamach, fourth of Sleat, with issue—

1. John Mac Torquil,\* who was excluded from the succession on his father's forfeiture and again when the estates were, in 1511, restored to Malcolm, Torquil's brother. John succeeded, however, on the death of his uncle, in getting possession, which he held, as will be seen hereafter, during the remainder of his life.

Lewis and the other estates of the family were, in 1511, given, to the exclusion of Torquil's son and direct male heir, by charter under the Great Seal, to

### IX. MALCOLM MACLEOD,

Brother of the forfeited Torquil, who is described in the document as *Malcolmo Makloid filio et heredi quondam Roderico M'Cloid*. He is granted "the lands and castle of Lewis, and Waternish in the Lordship of the Isles, with other lands, erected in his favour into the barony and lordship of Lewis, the place and castle of Stornochway to be the chief messuage."† In 1515, when the Regent

\* Gregory, p. 131, speaks of Donald Gruamach as uterine brother of John Mac Torquil, son of Torquil Macleod of the Lewis, forfeited in 1506, and nephew of Malcolm, the present [1528] Lord of Lewis. In a footnote he adds that Donald Gallach's "mother was first married to Torquil Macleod of the Lewis." She must, however, have been his second wife, and Donald Gallach's widow, for Donald was killed in 1506, and Catherine of Argyll is named as Macleod's wife in the charter of 1498. She lived after 1506, the date of Donald Gallach's death.

† *Register of the Great Seal*, XVII., No. 16; and *Register of the Privy Council*, IV., p. 126.

Duke of Albany commissioned John MacIan of Ardnamurchan to reduce to obedience the inhabitants of parts of the Isles who had supported Sir Donald of Lochalsh in his attempts to gain the Lordship of the Isles, and to promise the less violent of them the favour of the Crown, with remission for their past crimes, provided they made their submission, promised obedience in future, and made restitution to those who had suffered by their conduct, Malcolm was one of the Chiefs specially exempted from the Royal clemency. He is again on record in 1517.

In 1518-19 Sir Donald Gallda Macdonald of Lochalsh, accompanied by the Macleods of Lewis and Raasay, invaded Ardnamurchan, where, by pre-arrangement, they met Alexander Macdonald of Islay; and having united their forces, they attacked MacIan, whom they overtook at Craig-an-Airgid, in Morvern, defeated and slew him there with two of his sons, John Suaineartach and Angus, and many more of his followers. Sir Donald of Lochalsh died soon after this raid, and nothing more is heard of Malcolm Macleod, who appears to have died about 1528.

From the date of the raid to Ardnamurchan till about 1532 the lands and barony of Lewis were taken possession of and held by John, son and direct male heir of Torquil Macleod forfeited in 1506, and the nephew of Malcolm, to whom the estates had then been granted by the Crown. On the death of Malcolm, whose son Roderick was a minor, John Mac Torquil, aided by Donald Gruamach of Sleat and his followers, seized the whole Island. All the vassals of the barony followed his banner, and, though excluded from the legal succession by his father's forfeiture, every one of them acknowledged him as their natural leader by right of birth; and he was able to keep possession of the estates and the command of the Siol Torquil during the remainder of his life. In 1530 his name appears with nine others of the Highland Chiefs who made offers of submission to the King through the instrumentality of Hector Maclean of Duart.

John Mac Torquil was married, without male issue. But he had one daughter, Margaret, who married Donald Gorm, fifth of Sleat, and after her father's death her claims to the estates were supported by his whole kindred, and by the Macdonalds of Sleat. An amicable arrangement was, however, ultimately arrived at.

Writing under date of 1532-39, Gregory says, of John Mac Torquil—"that Chief, the representative of an elder, though forfeited branch of the family of Lewis, had obtained possession of the estates and leading of his tribe; and, although he did not hold these by any legal title, the claims of his daughter after his death were far from contemptible, especially when supported by the influence of the Clاندonald. A compromise seems to have been entered into between Donald Gorme and Ruari Macleod, the legal heir of the Lewis, as formerly held by Malcolm Macleod, his father, and the last lawful possessor."\*

Malcolm Macleod married Christian, daughter of Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty, with issue—

1. Roderick, his heir and successor.
2. Malcolm Garbh, from whom the Macleods of Raasay.
3. Norman, ancestor of the Macleods of Eddrachilles.

In 1532, on the death of John Mac Torquil, Malcolm's nephew, who had been in undisturbed possession since Malcolm's death,†

## X. RODERICK MACLEOD

Succeeded to the lands and command of the Macleods of Lewis, in terms of an arrangement arrived at between him and Donald Gorm Macdonald of Sleat, who had married Margaret, daughter of John Mac Torquil. In terms of this agreement, Roderick undertook to assist Donald Gorm in driving the Macleods of Dunvegan, who regained pos-

\* *Highlands and Isles*, p. 144.

† Malcolm was buried in the Churchyard of Ui, in the immediate vicinity of Stornoway, where many of the Lewis Chiefs are interred, "and particularly Malcolm, son of Roderick Macleod, Lord of Lewis, who died in the reign of James V. His tomb is still visible, and the inscription is entire, with the exception of the date."—*Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, p. 4.

session of Troternish, from that contested district. It is also stated that Roderick bound himself to aid in establishing Donald Gorm in the Lordship of the Isles and Earldom of Ross.

In May, 1539, Donald Gorm, accompanied by Macleod and his followers, invaded the lands of Troternish and laid them waste, after which, taking advantage of Mackenzie of Kintail's absence from home, they, with a large body of followers, made a raid upon Kinlochewe and Kintail, and attempted to take the Castle of Eilean Donain, on which occasion Donald Gorm was killed by an arrow shot from the walls.

On the 2nd of April, 1538, James V. had granted to Roderick Macleod, the son and heir of the deceased Malcolm Macleod of the Lewis, the nonentry and other dues of the lands and barony of the Lewis, from the 30th of June, 1511, till a year after the date of the grant.\* When the King, in course of his visit to the Isles in 1540, visited the Lewis, Roderick Macleod and his principal kinsmen met him, when they were commanded to accompany His Majesty in his progress southward. In 1541 James V. granted Roderick Macleod and Barbara Stewart, his affianced spouse, the lands, island, and barony of Lewis, with the castle and other lands, resigned by Roderick for that purpose; whereupon the whole was erected anew into the free barony of the Lewis.

Roderick's name is found on the 28th of July, 1545, among the seventeen barons and members of the Council of the Isles appointed as plenipotentiaries for treating, under the directions of the Earl of Lennox, with the English King, to whom, at this time, they had been arranging to transfer their allegiance, in consequence of which they had, shortly before, been charged by the Regent Arran with rebellious and treasonable proceedings. They were threatened with utter ruin and destruction, from an invasion by "the whole body of the realm of Scotland, with the succours lately come from France," for

\* *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. XI., p. 66.

their attempts to bring the whole Isles and a great part of the mainland under the obedience of the King of England, in contempt of the authority of the Crown of Scotland.

On the 5th of August following these rebellious barons were at Knockfergus, in Ireland, with a force of four thousand men and one hundred and eighty galleys, where, in presence of the Commissioners sent by the Earl of Lennox, and of the leading officials of that town, they took the oath of allegiance to the King of England, at the command of the Earl of Lennox, who was at the same time acknowledged by them all as the true Regent and second person of the Realm of Scotland, in which capacity they agreed to act under his directions in their treasonable and unpatriotic action on this and other occasions. On the 17th of August, the same year, Roderick received, with Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan and forty others, a remission, from that date to the 1st of November following, that they might go to the Regent and Lords of the Privy Council to arrange as to their affairs.

On the death of Donald Dubh, without lawful male issue, many of the Island Chiefs recognised and adopted as their legitimate leader James Macdonald of Islay, though his pretensions to the Lordship of the Isles were far inferior to those of Donald Gorm Og of Sleat, who was then a minor. Among those who opposed Islay and who soon afterwards succeeded in effecting a reconciliation with the Scottish Regent, were Roderick Macleod of Lewis, Macleod of Harris, Macneil of Barra, Mackinnon of Strath, and Macquarrie of Ulva. Roderick is absent, however, in 1547 from the battle of Pinkie, though several of the other Island lords responded to the call made upon them to join the Regent Arran on that disastrous occasion. Macleod appears, however, to have been forgiven, in 1548, on easy terms, with several others outlawed along with him in the previous year for refusing to join the Regent's forces when commanded to do so. But he is again in trouble within a very short time. In 1551 Archibald Earl of



Argyll was commissioned to pursue, with his men, Roderick Macleod of Lewis for "obteening" certain persons out of his lands.

In 1552 Arran determined, on the advice of Mary of Guise, the Queen Dowager, to establish order among the Highlanders. With this object he summoned all the Chiefs to meet him at Aberdeen on the 17th of June. Most of them submitted, either there or in the following July at Inverness, to the conditions imposed by him, but in consequence of disputes which at this time occurred between Arran and the Queen Dowager regarding the Regency, the Highlanders again rebelled. Mary of Guise assumed the Government in June, 1554, when she at once ordered the Earls of Huntly and Argyll to proceed by land and sea to the utter extermination of the MacDonalds of Clanranald and Sleat, and the Macleods of Lewis and their associates, who failed to present the hostages demanded of them for their good conduct and loyalty in the future. The expedition, from various causes, turned out a complete failure. The Queen Dowager determined, however, to secure order among the Highlanders, and in April, 1555, she made a beginning by ordering the institution of a process of treason against Roderick Macleod of Lewis. In the following June a commission was granted to the Earls of Argyll and Athole against the islanders, but soon after Macleod submitted and made offers to the Privy Council through Argyll, in consequence of which the Queen Regent granted him a remission for "his treasonable intercommuning with various rebels, and for other crimes."

After this he appears for several years to have led a more peaceful life, for we do not again find trace of him in the public records until the 20th of September, 1565, when he is summoned, with several others, by proclamation, to join the Earl of Athole in Lorn to put down the Earl of Murray's rebellion, arising out of his opposition to the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to Lord Darnley. This rising, however, collapsed, and there was no necessity to

send the Royal forces to Lorn after all. In 1572, during Roderick's life, James VI. granted to Torquil Conanach Macleod, described in the charter making the grant as "the son and apparent heir of Roderick Macleod of Lewis," and to the heirs male of his body, with remainder to Gillecallum Garbh Macleod of Raasay, and his male heirs, and to Torquil's male heirs whomsoever, bearing the Macleod surname and arms, the lands and barony of Lewis, which Roderick had resigned, reserving the life-rent to himself on condition that he and Torquil should not again commit any crime against the King.\*

Roderick's rule turned out disastrous to the Siol Torquil in the Lewis, and terminated the supremacy of his house in that island principality. How this came about must now be considered. In doing so, we shall have to wade through one of the most barbarous, sanguinary, and fratricidal conflicts recorded in Clan history. Though the sources of authentic information are scant, we hope to give a more complete account of this period of the history of the Lewis and its inhabitants than has ever yet been written.

The feud between the Macdonalds of Sleat and the Mackenzies of Kintail, already noticed, were aggravated by Donald Gorm's raid on Kinlochewe and Eilean Donain Castle—where the Chief of Sleat was killed—and was afterwards greatly intensified by the relations which at a later date existed between these two powerful families and the respective claimants for ascendancy in the Lewis. It will be better first to give an account of the position of the Macleod leaders in the island and of their supporters from an independent historical source.

Gregory says that Roderick Macleod married, as his *first* wife, Janet, daughter of John Mackenzie of Kintail. In all other accounts this lady is said to have been Macleod's second wife, but Gregory conclusively proves that Barbara Stewart, said by other authorities to have been Roderick's first wife, was alive, and styled Lady Lewis, in 1566, while Torquil Conanach, Macleod's son

\**Register of the Privy Seal*, Vol. XI. p., 65.

by Janet Mackenzie, is found engaged in active life as a man of full age in 1554, twelve years before 1566, and Torquil had a grown-up son in 1585, only nineteen years after Barbara Stewart is found mentioned in the public records as being then alive. It is thus established beyond question that Janet Mackenzie, Torquil Conanach's mother, was Roderick Macleod's first wife. She was an illegitimate daughter of John Mackenzie of Killin, IX. of Kintail, and was married, as her first husband, to Mackay of Reay. Her mother appears to have belonged to Strathconon, where, among her relations, the son, Torquil Conanach, was fostered, a fact which accounts for this sobriquet, by which he is ever afterwards known. This is stated in several of the Mackenzie family manuscripts; and it is quite certain that Torquil was not a son of any of Mackenzie's daughters by his lawful wife, whom we know to have been Elizabeth, daughter of John, tenth Laird of Grant, a family that never had any connection whatever with Strathconon.

The only issue of Macleod's marriage with Janet Mackenzie, widow of Mackay of Reay, was this Torquil, "afterwards, from his residence among his mother's relations in Strathconon, surnamed Connanach." Janet, according to Gregory, subsequently eloped with John MacGillechallum, of Raasay, and was divorced by Macleod, who at the same time disowned and disinherited her son, Torquil Conanach, alleging that he was not his lawful son but the adulterous offspring of his wife by Hucheon Morison, the *Breitheamh*, or hereditary Celtic Judge of the Island.\*

Having thus got rid of his first wife, Macleod, in 1541, married Barbara Stewart, daughter of Andrew, Lord Avandale, by whom he had a second son, also named Torquil,

\* It appears from the Treasurer's Accounts that on the 23rd of July, 1551, Patrick Davidson is paid the sum of £10 by the King's Treasurer that he may go to the Lewis to charge "M'Claude of the Lewis and Hucheon of the Lewis to come to my Lord Governor [Arran] at the aire of Inverness." Hucheon, it is thus clear, was Roderick's contemporary, and we otherwise know that he was indirectly the cause of the final ruin of the Lewis Macleods.

and surnamed *Oighre*, or the heir, to distinguish him from his alleged illegitimate eldest brother, Torquil Conanach, Torquil Oighre, described as "a young Chief of great promise," was in or about 1566, with sixty of his attendants, drowned in a great storm while sailing in his galley from the Lewis to Waternish, in the Isle of Skye. This must be the Torquil, and not Torquil Conanach, as suggested by the editor of *The Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, to whom, in 1563, Queen Mary addressed the following letter :—"Torquil Macleod : We greet you well. We are informed that some of the Isles are desirous to have you allied to them by marriage ; and because you have that honour to be of the Stewart blood, we thought expedient to give you advertisement that it is our will and pleasure that you ally yourself to no party in marriage without our advice, and until we declare our opinion to yourself therein. Subscribed with our hand at Inveraray, the 23rd of July, 1563."\* It was never suggested by any authority that Torquil Conanach had any immediate Stewart blood in his veins.

Torquil Oighre, Roderick's son by Barbara Stewart, left no male issue. His death, without male heirs, gave fresh spirit and hope to Torquil Conanach's supporters, the most powerful of whom were his mother's relations, the Mackenzies of Kintail. He also had the aid of the Macdonalds of Glengarry, he having married a daughter of their Chief, Angus VII. of Glengarry, by Margaret, daughter of Macleod of Harris. She afterwards, in 1590, had six davachs of land in the Lordship of the Lewis and other lands, on the mainland, granted to her in life-rent by her husband, and the grant was in the same year confirmed by James VI. She is described in the charter as "Margaret Nyne Angus Makalexander," or Margaret, daughter of Angus, son of Alexander of Glengarry. Either before or after her marriage to Torquil Macleod, she was married to one of the Cuthberts of Castle Hill, Inverness, by whom she became the progenitrix of Charles Colbert, Marquis of

\* *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, Vol. V., p.396.

Seignelay, the famous Minister of Louis XIV. of France.

Various events occurred at this period which intensified the feud between the contending claimants. In or about 1568, Roderick Macleod of the Lewis was seized by Torquil Conanach, and detained by him in prison for four years. Being brought while in captivity before the Earl of Mar, then Regent, and the Privy Council, he was compelled to resign all his estates to the Crown, and, in 1572, to take a new destination of them to himself in life-rent, and after his death to Torquil Conanach, who is designed in the charter as his lawful son and heir. Immediately on his release, however, Roderick revoked all that he had agreed to when in prison—on the ground of coercion and the undutiful conduct of Torquil—by an instrument of revocation, dated 2nd of June in the same year, and which is preserved in the Dunvegan charter chest. Fresh dissensions naturally followed, and “at length father and son were summoned to Edinburgh, where, in presence of the Regent Morton and the Privy Council, they agreed to bury in oblivion their mutual animosities. Torquil Conanach was again recognised as heir-apparent of the Lewis; and, in that character, received from his father the district of Coigeach and various other lands for his support during the life of the latter.” This second reconciliation was, however, only of short duration.

On the 26th of April, 1573, Roderick comes under an obligation to John Campbell, Bishop of the Isles, to bring in the Bishop’s fruits, rents, and emoluments, and cause all over whom he has authority to do likewise. He is to make to his lordship and his Commissioners and factors thankful payment of all things owing within his country, and to be obedient “anent all good ordinances, laws, and constitutions and corrections concerning the Kirk, as the acts and constitution of the Reformed Kirk of Scotland bears and was used in the last Bishop’s time.” The obligation is subscribed on his behalf by Ranald Anguson, parson of Uig, “at the command of ane honourable man Roderick McCloid of the Lewis, because he culd not



writt himself, his hand led on the pen.”\* He appears about the same time to have got into trouble for his treatment of the fishermen from other parts of the country who visited the Lewis, and in 1576 he and Torquil Conanach bind themselves as follows:—

Edinburgh, 26th of June, 1576.—The which day Rory Macleod of the Lewis and Torquil Macleod, his son and apparent heir, become acted and obliged that they by themselves, and taking burden upon them for their kin, friends, servants, tenants, assistants, and partakers, shall behave themselves as dutiful and obedient subjects to our Sovereign Lord and his authority; that they shall observe and keep His Highness's peace and good order in the country in time coming; and on no wise molest, stop, trouble, or make impediment to any [of] His Majesty's subjects in their lawful trade of fishing in the lochs of the Lewis, or others in the North Isles of this realm; nor otherwise raise any “towist,” or imposition upon them, but to use them as our Sovereign Lord's good subjects, causing them [to] be assured of meat and drink, and other their necessities upon their reasonable expenses in all times hereafter, as they will answer upon their obedience and under all highest pain, etc.

In 1585 the dispute between Roderick and Torquil was renewed with greater violence than ever. The old Chief had recently married, as his third wife, a sister of Lachlan Mor Maclean and daughter of Hector Og Maclean, XII. of Duart, by whom he became the father of two sons, Torquil Dubh and Tormod. He also had in the meantime five bastard sons, all of whom had arrived at man's estate. Three of these bastards supported their father, who now once more disinherited Torquil Conanach and named Torquil Dubh, his eldest son by Hector Maclean of Duart's daughter, as his heir. The other two bastards—Tormod Uigeach and Murdoch—supported the claims of Torquil Conanach. Tormod Uigeach was soon after slain by his brother Donald, who was in turn seized by Murdoch and delivered up to Torquil Conanach for punish-

\* The document is printed at length in the *Transactions of the Iona Club*, pp. 6-8.



ment. Donald, however, managed to escape, and shortly after he captured Murdoch, who was at once imprisoned by Old Rory in the Castle of Stornoway. Torquil Conanach thereupon took up arms for Murdoch's relief, surrounded the castle, took it after a short siege, liberated his brother, again made his father, Old Rory, prisoner, and killed a large number of his followers. Torquil, at the same time, secured and carried away with him all the writs and charters belonging to the family, and ultimately gave them over to his relative, Colin Mackenzie XI. of Kintail. Before leaving the island, he sent a messenger for his eldest son John, then being brought up under the Earl of Huntly, and, on his arrival in the Lewis, appointed him keeper of Stornoway Castle, in which his grandfather, Old Rory, was confined under his charge. John continued in possession for some time, but was ultimately killed by his bastard uncle, Rory Og, when Old Rory once more regained his liberty, and obtained possession of his estates, which he retained for the rest of his life.

Torquil Conanach, on hearing of the death of John, his son and heir, immediately apprehended and executed at Dingwall, his bastard brother, Donald, who, it was alleged, was privately a party to the doings of Rory Og, and had a hand in the death of Torquil Conanach's son.

Soon after this Roderick of the Lewis, with Lachlan Maclean of Duart, Donald Gormeson of Sleat, and Tor-mod Macleod of Harris are summoned before the King and Council to give advice regarding the good rule and quietness of the Highlands and Isles. From this it would seem that he was at the time on good terms with the Government, though that uncommon and happy relationship does not appear to have long continued.

On the 11th of November, 1586, a complaint by the Burghs of the Realm against several of the Highland and Island Chiefs for molesting burgesses engaged in the fisheries in the North Isles and mainland, is brought before the Privy Council. Among those mentioned in

the complaint are Roderick Macleod of the Lewis and his eldest son, Torquil Conanach, now designated Torquil Macleod of Coigeach, who, with all the others, not one of whom answered the summons charging them to appear, were denounced rebels and put to the horn.

In May, 1596, a Royal proclamation was issued commanding all the earls, lords, barons, and freeholders worth three hundred merks and upwards of yearly rent, and all the burgesses of the realm, to meet the King at Dumbarton, on the 1st of August following, well armed, with forty days' provisions, and with vessels to carry them to the Isles on an expedition to reduce the Island lords to obedience. Maclean of Duart and Macdonald of Sleat at once repaired to Court and made their submission. Roderick Macleod of Harris and Donald Macdonald of Glengarry surrendered themselves about the same time and secured favourable terms.

Torquil Dubh Macleod, Roderick's eldest son by his third wife, at this time held possession of the Lewis, but his right to do so was disputed by Torquil Conanach and his friends more violently than ever. Both, however, agreed to abide by the terms of an arbitration proposed by the Lords of Exchequer, each hoping to have his own title recognised as heir to the estates; and they were in consequence excluded from the list of disobedient clans to be proceeded against.

During this period of suspense the mainland estates remained with Torquil Conanach; and the result of the reference to the Lords of Exchequer was that he was recognised by the Government as the legal heir to all the lands belonging to the family in the Lewis as well as on the mainland. Both Torquil's sons were now dead, and his eldest daughter and co-heiress, Margaret, married Roderick Mackenzie, brother and Tutor of Kenneth, afterwards first Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, into whose arms he now threw himself, and to whom he ultimately conveyed the whole barony of Lewis, so far as charters could do so.

Torquil Conanach's brother and competitor, Torquil

Dubh married a sister of Rory Mor Macleod, XIII. of Harris and Dunvegan ; and, strengthened by his powerful alliance, he ravaged the lands of Coigeach and Lochbroom, on the mainland, belonging to Torquil Conanach and Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, who, in 1594, succeeded his father, Colin. Torquil Dubh at the same time openly intimated his full determination to retain by force what he had thus acquired. He became very popular with the Clan, and in this raid was joined by seven or eight hundred followers, who enabled him, in spite of the great power of the Mackenzies, to set his rival, Torquil Conanach, at defiance. Soon after, however, Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail made a formal complaint to the Privy Council, dated at the Chanonry of Ross, on the 3rd of January, 1596-7, in which he makes a charge against Torquil Dubh of prosecuting with fire and sword, on the 25th of the previous December, "the Strath Coigeach, pertaining to Macleod, his eldest brother ; likewise my Strath of Lochbroom," to the King's great dishonour, without fear of God, and "in such barbarous and cruel manner, that neither man, wife, bairn, horse, corns, nor bigging has been spared, but all barbarously slain, burnt and destroyed," by the aid of his neighbouring Islemen. As the immediate result of this complaint, Torquil Dubh was summoned to appear before the Privy Council to answer the serious charges made against him ; but he naturally hesitated to present himself before a tribunal, of which his accuser, Mackenzie, who also had great influence with his brother members, formed one. Torquil Dubh was therefore in his absence formally denounced a rebel ; and, having been seized shortly after, with many of his principal followers, at the instigation of Mackenzie and Torquil Conanach, by Hucheson Morrison, the Celtic Judge of the Lewis, they were delivered over to Torquil Conanach, by whom, in July, 1597, they were all executed at Coigeach without further ceremony. This severity naturally irritated Torquil's surviving adherents, amongst whom the most conspicuous and able

was his bastard brother, Neil, who, supported by the Macleans of Duart and the Macleods of Harris, at once determined to maintain what he considered the legitimate rights of his nephews, Torquil Dubh's three young sons. In their name and interest Neil assumed command of the Lewis, and by his prowess and determination, Torquil Conanach's ultimate success, though he was stoutly supported by the Mackenzies, seemed as far off as ever.

In this year, 1597, an Act of Parliament was passed, by which all claiming lands in the Highlands and Isles had to produce their titles on or before the 15th of May following, at Edinburgh, or wherever the Lords of the Exchequer might be sitting, or suffer the penalty of forfeiture. Torquil Dubh was one of those who did not put in an appearance; for he had no written titles to produce, the Lewis charters having some time before been removed by his rival, Torquil Conanach, and given for safe keeping to Mackenzie of Kintail. The island was in consequence of Torquil's non-appearance declared to be at the King's disposal.

On the 16th of December in the same year, an Act was passed for the erection of three royal burghs in the Highlands, one of which was to be in the Lewis. This Act, modernised, is in the following terms:—

Our Sovereign Lord, with advice of the Estates of this present Parliament, for the better entertaining and continuing of civility and policy within the Highlands and Isles, has statute and ordained, that there be erected and built within the bounds thereof three burghs and burgh towns, in the most convenient and commodious parts meet for the same; to wit, one in Kintyre, another in Lochaber, and the third in the Lewis: to the which burghs and the inhabitants thereof our Sovereign Lord and the Estates foresaid, shall grant, and by these presents grant, all privileges which His Highness and his predecessors have granted to any other burghs or inhabitants thereof within the realm: And that it shall be lawful to our Sovereign Lord, by the advice of the Lords of His Majesty's Exchequer, to give, grant, and dispone to every one of the said burghs so much land and ground furth of His Highness's annexed

property, as may serve to build the said towns upon the same, with so much land and fishings next adjacent thereto, in Common Good, to every one of the said three towns as may sustain the common charges thereof, to be held in free burgage of His Highness, in such form and manner as His Majesty's most noble progenitors of worthy memories have granted of old for the erection of other burghs of this Realm.

This Act was not carried into effect; but it eventually led to the erection of the three towns of Campbeltown, Fort-William, and Stornoway. Only the first-named, however, secured the privileges of a Royal Burgh.

The lands of Lewis having been forfeited to the Crown by Torquil Dubh's refusal or inability to produce his family titles to them in 1597, and he himself having later on in that year been put to death by Torquil Conanach, the estates were, in 1598, granted to a number of Lowland gentlemen for the purpose of colonising and improving them on a plan suggested by the King. In addition to the Lewis, these gentlemen had also granted to them the district of Troternish, in Skye, then occupied under lease by Macdonald of Sleat, and also the lands of Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg, belonging to Sir Rory Mor Macleod of Macleod. The leading adventurers among the colonists were the Duke of Lennox; Patrick, Commendator of Lindores; William, Commendator of Pittenweem; Sir James Anstruther, younger of that ilk; Sir James Sandilands of Slamanno; James Leirmonth of Balcolmly; James Spens of Wormistoun; John Ferrel of Fingask; David Home, younger of Wedderburn; and Captain William Murray. By contract, dated 28th of June, 1598, between them and the Government, ratified by Parliament, they were, to make up for the expense and trouble incurred by them and for the improvements which they undertook to make, relieved for seven years from the payment of any rent. They further entered into an agreement to pay, on the expiration of that period, an annual grain-rent of forty chalders of bere for the lands of Lewis, Rona of Lewis,



and the Island of Handa ; and for the lands of Troternish, in Skye, a money rent of four hundred merks per annum—twenty merks more than that agreed to be paid by Macdonald of Sleat for the lease of the same lands when secured by him in 1596, two years before.

The colonists having failed to carry out their intentions in the Lewis, do not appear to have interfered with the lands granted to them in Harris and Skye, so that the old proprietors were not disturbed in their possession of them ; and they finally succeeded in securing titles anew from the Crown. The mere fact, however, that lands belonging to Macleod of Harris and Macdonald of Sleat were granted to the Lowlanders at this time made it scarcely possible that the adventurers should be permitted by these gentlemen to succeed in the Lewis, and this might have been foreseen by any wise Government.

Mr. Gregory, on this point, says that had the Lewis alone been granted the dissensions of the natives among themselves would have made success highly probable, the only serious opposition to be reckoned upon being that which Mackenzie of Kintail might be expected to make. " But when grants were likewise made to these Lowlanders of the estates belonging to Macleod of Harris, and of a large district occupied, under a recent lease, by Macdonald of Sleat, a powerful party was at once created in the North Isles, whose interest it clearly was to frustrate and discourage the adventurers by every means in their power. These Chiefs could not fail to perceive that the success of the adventurers in the Lewis would enable the latter to seize, with great facility, all the other lands to which Parliament had given them a claim. That they should deprecate such an event was perfectly natural ; and it will appear, accordingly, that the enterprise of the Lowlanders at length failed, owing to the obstacles secretly but perseveringly thrown in their way by the three great northern Chiefs, Macleod of Harris, Macdonald of Sleat, and Mackenzie of Kintail." This result was so natural, the wonder is that neither the Government nor the colonists



themselves realised what it involved, and acted accordingly.

In July, 1599, a Commission of Lieutenandry, was granted to the Duke of Lennox and to the Earl of Huntly over the whole of Inverness-shire and the Isles, and a special charge given them, by every means in their power, and with all their forces, to assist "the gentlemen venturers and enterprisers of the conquest of the Lewis, towards the perfect settling and establishing of that Island under their obedience." In the preamble to this Commission a picture is drawn of the natives, in which they are charged with being guilty of "the grossest impiety and the most atrocious barbarities," though the most heinous offence in the King's eyes among those enumerated seems to be the non-payment of his rents; for one of the clauses declares that, "besides all other crimes, they rebelliously withhold from His Majesty a great part of the patrimony and proper rent of the Crown." Express power was given to the Commissioners to punish, with military execution, not only the open and avowed opponents of the Lowland adventurers, but any others who might be found opposing them by indirect means.

The colonists had meantime been preparing for the actual commencement of their enterprise, and, fortified by this Commission, they, in October, 1599, proceeded to the Lewis with a force of between five and six hundred hired soldiers, accompanied by several gentlemen volunteers and artificers of all kinds considered necessary for their purpose. That they should have started so late in the season is attributed to the reports of hostility circulated by Mackenzie of Kintail and other northern Chiefs, to the effect that the enterprise would be strenuously opposed by a formidable force. In any case, the late arrival of the adventurers in the Island proved so injurious, from the cold and want of shelter and provisions, that a great many of them died of the flux, soon after their arrival, and of other complaints brought on by their situation and circumstances there. "They began apace," according to Sir Robert Gordon, "to build and erect houses in a

proper and convenient place fit for the purpose; in end they made up a pretty town," where they encamped. The Lewismen, led by Roderick's two surviving bastard sons, Neil and Murdoch, opposed the Fifers, incited thereto, no doubt, by the Mackenzies. James Leirmonth of Balcolmly in the meantime left the Lewis for Fife in his own vessel. He was intercepted near the Orkneys by Murdoch Macleod, instigated by Kintail, when most of the crew and his companions were killed, and he was himself taken back to the Lewis, where he was kept in prison for six months, after which he was liberated on his promising to pay the bastards a heavy ransom. He, however, died on his way home, in the Orkneys, from a disease contracted in consequence of the treatment he received during his imprisonment in the Island of Lewis, and the ransom, owing to his death, was never paid.

This occurred in 1600. At this time Neil Macleod had a dispute with his brother Murdoch, who in 1597 had the principal share in the execution of Torquil Dubh. He also aided the Brieve and his tribe, the Clann Mhic Gillemhuire, by whom Torquil Dubh had been apprehended and delivered into the hands of Mackenzie of Kintail, who had put him to death. In the course of this new quarrel, Neil captured his brother Murdoch and several of the Morrisons, every one of whom, except his own brother, he immediately executed.

The colonists from Fife, learning what had occurred, offered Neil, if he delivered Murdoch up to them, as the most prominent of their opponents, a portion of the Island for himself, and to render him all the aid in their power to avenge himself on the Mackenzies for the death of Torquil Dubh. Neil accepted the terms offered to him, delivered his brother Murdoch over to the adventurers, accompanied them to Edinburgh, and carried along with him the heads of the Morrisons, ten or twelve of whom he had recently slain. Having received pardon from the Crown, he, along with the colonists, returned to the Lewis. Murdoch was soon after, in the same

year, executed at St. Andrews. Before his death he made certain disclosures, in consequence of which and of complaints by the colonists, Mackenzie of Kintail was apprehended and lodged in Edinburgh Castle, but he soon after managed to escape by the assistance of his friend, the Earl of Dunfermline, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, without standing his trial. Nor did he in the slightest degree relax his efforts to gain possession of the Lewis, notwithstanding the risk which he had incurred and from the consequences of which he so narrowly escaped.

In 1601 new Commissions were granted to Lennox and Huntly for reducing to obedience the Isles and adjacent Highlands. The North Isles were given in charge of Huntly, but the Lewis was exempted from his Commission, probably because the Government expected that the adventurers would be able to cope with the difficulties of the situation without any extraneous aid. If such were their expectations, they soon discovered their error. The colonists were almost immediately embroiled in another quarrel with Neil Macleod, the leader of the Island natives.

Gregory says that "the leaders of the adventurers who returned to the Island with Neil Macleod, after procuring his pardon and delivering up his brother Murdoch to justice, were the Commendator of Pittenweem, the lairds of Wormistoun, Fingask, Balcolmly and Airdrie. Their situation at this time was so promising that they were induced to limit the exemption from rent, which, by their contract, was to last for seven years, to two years from the commencement of their undertaking. Soon after their return, however, some injury done by Spens of Wormistoun to Neil Macleod, embroiled them once more with the latter. Wormistoun laid a plot to entrap Macleod; but that leader, having a similar design against Wormistoun, was upon his guard; and, as soon as a party sent to apprehend him were at a sufficient distance from their camp, he attacked and routed them, with the loss of sixty

of their number. Mackenzie of Kintail, who, since the agreement made between Neil Macleod and the colonists, had almost despaired of frustrating the enterprise, was no sooner informed of this quarrel than he hastened to profit by it. He had detained in captivity, for several years, Tormod, the younger brother of Torquil Dubh, and only surviving legitimate son of old Ruari Macleod of Lewis. Although ordered by the Privy Council, in April, 1600, to produce his prisoner before them, he had evaded compliance, and still detained Tormod Macleod in custody without a warrant. Suddenly changing his plan, on hearing of the quarrel between Neil and the adventurers, Mackenzie restored this young man to liberty, and sent him into the Lewis, promising him, secretly, great assistance if he would attack the settlers in concert with his uncle [? brother.] On his arrival in the Island, Tormod was received with open arms by Neil Macleod and all the old followers of the family of Lewis, by whom he was at once acknowledged as lord and master. Encouraged by the support he received from his Clan and the other natives of Lewis, and guided by the advice and experience of Neil Macleod, who had so long been their leader, the young Chief attacked the camp of the adventurers, forced it, burned the fort, killed many of their men, and at length forced the principal gentlemen to capitulate with him on the following conditions:—First, they were to obtain from the king a remission to the Macleods for all their bypast offences; secondly, they promised never to return to the Lewis, and agreed to give up their title to that Island to Tormod Macleod; lastly, for the performance of these conditions, they were obliged to leave Sir James Spens and his son-in-law, Thomas Monypenny of Kinkell, as hostages. In order to obtain the liberation of the hostages, who were detained for eight months by the islanders, a remission was readily granted; and it is probable that the adventurers pretended to surrender their legal rights by a formal deed; but, when their object was attained by the release of these gentlemen, no further

attention was paid to the capitulation. Notwithstanding their promise never to return, they seem only to have waited till their hostages were out of danger before taking immediate steps for a reconquest of the Island and its restless inhabitants. Accordingly, in the month of July [1602] proclamation was made, summoning the fighting men in most of the northern counties to meet a Royal lieutenant, probably the Marquis of Huntly, at Inverness, on the 20th of September, then to proceed against the rebels of the Lewis. On the approach of harvest, however, this proclamation was recalled, and 'the raid of the Lewis' was delayed till the spring of the following year."

This delay to 1603 appears from the Records of the Privy Council to have been arranged on the 15th of September, 1602, but it would seem that nothing further was done until the summer of 1605, when the adventurers, armed with Commissions of fire and sword, and assisted by some of the King's ships, made another attempt to gain possession of the Lewis, out of which they had been kept by Tormod Macleod and his supporters since 1601.

It was now ordered by the Government that all the castles and other strongholds in the North Isles should be delivered up to any heralds or officers sent to receive possession of them, and, failing delivery by the Chiefs, the colonists were empowered by warrant to besiege and take all the castles by force. All the vessels and galleys owned in the North Isles and the adjacent mainland were to be delivered up by their proprietors at Lochbroom to the Fife adventurers, who were at the same time empowered to seize all vessels and boats belonging to any who should continue disobedient. All other Highlanders were enjoined, under severe penalties, to hold no communication whatever with the inhabitants of the Lewis, who were described as rebels against the King. The colonists, in virtue of the powers conferred upon them, having gathered together a considerable force from the adjoining districts, proceeded to the Lewis, and on their arrival despatched a messenger to Tormod Macleod,

intimating to him that if he submitted to them they would send him safely to London, where they would not only secure for him His Majesty's pardon for all past offences, but allow him to sue through his friends for the King's favour, and for some such provision as would enable him to live in comfort afterwards. His brother Neil was much against the proposal, and urged upon Tormod to gather his followers and fight the adventurers, as on previous occasions, rather than submit to the terms they proposed. This Tormod, unfortunately for himself, would not agree to. He submitted to the conditions imposed by the colonists, was sent to London as promised by them, and, after a time, he made such progress in impressing upon the King the great wrong which had been inflicted upon his family by granting the lawful inheritance of his house to the Fife adventurers, that these gentlemen, some of whom were at the time members of His Majesty's household, began to fear that the King might recall his grant of the Lewis to themselves. Their alarm in this respect led them to use all their influence against Tormod, and they succeeded so far that, by order of His Majesty, the islander was sent back to Scotland and confined in the Castle of Edinburgh, where he remained a prisoner for the next ten years. Neil, who still held out, was supported all along by the natives of the island, and continued a source of great annoyance and trouble to the adventurers, who now secured a firm settlement in the Lewis, where they remained until they were finally driven out of it by Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail in 1609.

From a Commission granted to the Marquis of Huntly in 1607 for the reduction of the North Isles, the Isle of Skye and the Lewis were excluded. The reduction of the other islands on this occasion was to be by "extirpation of the barbarous people of the Isles within a year." Huntly, however, got into trouble himself, and the reign of James VI. was, in consequence, saved "from being stained by a massacre which, for atrocity and the delibera-



tion with which it was planned would have left that of Glencoe far in the shade." The islanders were thus only saved by a mere accident, and they owed nothing whatever to their King, "whose character must forever bear the stain of having, for the most sordid motives, consigned to destruction thousands of his subjects" in the Western Isles.

In the same year the colonists, who had been incessantly annoyed by Neil Macleod, assisted by the Macneils of Barra, the Macdonalds of Clanranald, and the Macleods of Harris, began to give up all hope of maintaining their hold in the Lewis. "Of the original partners, many had for some time withdrawn, some had died, others had spent all their property, and of the remainder, some had more important affairs to call them elsewhere. Thus reduced and dispirited by the constant attacks made upon them, they forsook the Island and returned to their homes. The Lord of Kintail, who had all along wrought to this end, now began to stir in the matter. By means of his friend, the Lord Chancellor, he passed under the Great Seal a gift of the Lewis to himself, in virtue of the resignation made formerly in his favour by Torquil Conanach Macleod. The surviving adventurers, however, were not so unmindful of their own interest as to suffer this transaction to pass unchallenged. They complained to the King, who was highly incensed at the conduct of Mackenzie, and forced him to resign his right thus surreptitiously obtained. The Island being once more, by this step, and the consent of the adventurers, at the disposal of His Majesty, he granted it anew to three persons only, viz.—James, Lord Balmerino; Sir George Hay of Nethercliff; and Sir James Spens of Wormistoun." On the occasion of Lord Ochiltree's famous expedition, in 1608, when he entrapped the Island Chiefs aboard the King's ship *Moon*, at Aros, in Mull, and carried them prisoners to Edinburgh, his Lordship, in his report of the proceeding to the Privy Council, assigned the lateness of the season as his reason for not

having proceeded against Macleod of Lewis and Macneil of Barra, stating at the same time that the latter was a depender upon Maclean of Duart, who had come to terms, and who was prepared to answer for Macneil's behaviour.

In March, 1609, Lord Balmerino was convicted of high treason. This effectually debarred him from taking any active part with Sir George Hay and Sir James Spens in colonising the Lewis, neither of whom spared trouble nor expense to carry into effect the terms of the Royal grant recently made to them. They were most active, made great preparations, and, assisted by the neighbouring tribes, invaded the Lewis for the double purpose of planting a colony in it, and of subduing and apprehending Neil Macleod, who now alone defended it. Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail despatched his brother, Roderick, afterwards his son's Tutor, and Alexander Mackenzie of Coul, with a party of followers numbering 400, ostensibly to aid the colonists, now acting under the King's commission, to whom Kintail promised his active support. At the same time he despatched a vessel from Ross loaded with provisions, while he privately sent word to Neil Macleod to intercept her on the way, so that the settlers, disappointed of the supply of provisions to which they looked for maintenance, should be obliged to abandon the Island for want of the necessaries of life.

Matters turned out just as Kintail anticipated ; Sir George Hay and Sir James Spens abandoned the Lewis, leaving a party behind them to hold the fort, and intending to send a fresh supply of men and provisions back to the Island as soon as they arrived in Fife. But in the meantime Neil Macleod and his followers captured and burned the fort, apprehended the garrison, and sent them safely to their homes, on giving their oath that they would never come back again on that pretence ; and they never did. After this the Fife adventurers gave up all hope of establishing themselves in the Island ; and they sold their rights therein, and their share of the forfeited

districts of Troternish and Waternish in Skye, to Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, who at the same time obtained a grant from the King of Balmerino's forfeited share of the Lewis, thus acquiring in a legal fashion what he had so long desired.

In addition to a fixed sum of money, Mackenzie gave the adventurers in exchange a lease of the woods of Letterewe in the parish of Gairloch, where there was an iron mine, which, for many years, they wrought by English miners, casting guns and other implements, until the wood which they used for fuel was exhausted, and their lease expired. The King confirmed this agreement; and "to encourage Kintail and his brother, Roderick, in their work of civilising the people of the Lewis," he raised the former to the peerage on November 19, 1609, as Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, and shortly after, on the 19th of November, in the same year, conferred the honour of knighthood on his brother, Roderick Mackenzie of Coigeach.

In 1610 Lord Kenneth returned to the Lewis at the head of 700 men, and finally brought the island to submission, with the exception of Neil Macleod and a few of his followers, who had retired the previous year to the rock of Berrisay, and taken possession of it. At this period religion appears to have been at a very low ebb—almost extinct—among the inhabitants of the island; and to revive Christianity among them, Lord Mackenzie selected and took along with him the Rev. Farquhar Macrae, a native of Kintail, then minister of Gairloch, who had been recommended to that charge by the Bishop of Ross. Mr. Macrae found much to do on his arrival, but he appears to have been very successful among the uncivilized natives. He reports having gained many over to Christianity, having baptised a large number in the fortieth year of their age, and in order to legitimise their children, he married many more to the women with whom they had been for years openly cohabiting. Leaving the reverend gentleman in the prosecution of his mission

in the island, Lord Kintail, having established good order, returned home, promising to come back the following year ; but he died in 1611 and never again visited the Lewis.

Sir Roderick Mackenzie, as Tutor for his nephew, Lord Colin, was determined to bring the remainder of the Macleods under subjection. Neil Macleod, as already stated, on Lord Mackenzie's arrival in 1609 retired to the impregnable rock of Berrisay, at the back of the island, to which, as a measure of prudence, he had for some years previously been sending a stock of provisions and other necessities, to be available in the event of his having to retire to the rock, as he was now obliged to do, as a last resort. He was accompanied thither by his three nephews—the sons of Rory Og—Malcolm, William, and Roderick ; the four sons of Torquil Blair, and thirty of their more determined followers. In this impregnable position they held out for three years, during which they were a constant source of annoyance and insecurity to the Tutor and his followers. Sir Roderick at last, in 1612, found his opportunity, and, by a desperate stratagem, he succeeded in bringing about the surrender of Neil and of all his companions.

While one of the Tutor's followers, Donald MacDhonnachaidh Mhic Ian Ghlais, was stationed on a small rock within shot of Berrisay, he was killed by Neil, who at the same time, wounded another of Sir Roderick's men, Tearlach MacDhomh'uill Ruaidh Mhic Fhionnlaidh Ghlais. This exasperated the Tutor so much, that after all other means had failed him to oust Neil Macleod from his position, he conceived the inhuman scheme of gathering together all the wives and children of the whole of those who were on Berrisay, and all the people on the island who were in any way related to them by blood or marriage affinity ; and having placed them at low water on a sunken rock in the sea, so near Berrisay that Neil and his companions could see and hear them, Sir Roderick declared that he would leave all these women and children on the rock until every soul of them was overwhelmed

by the sea and drowned, on the return of the flood tide, should Neil and his companions not instantly surrender and leave the rock of Berrisay.

Neil knew by stern experience that the promise of the Tutor, once given, for good or evil, was as good as his bond, and he yielded up the rock at once, on condition that he and his followers should be allowed to leave the Lewis. After he gave up the rock Neil proceeded privately, during the night, to Macleod of Harris. The Tutor hearing of this caused Macleod to be charged, under pain of treason and forfeiture, to deliver Neil up to the Privy Council. Sir Roderick Macleod thereupon prevailed upon Neil to accompany him, and to take his son along with him to Edinburgh, to seek forgiveness from the King; but under pretence of this he delivered them both up on arriving in that city, where Neil, in April, 1613, was at once executed, and his son banished out of the kingdom.

Neil himself was only a short time before guilty of a similar act of treachery towards another. He met with the captain of a pirate vessel named the *Priam* while on Berrisay, and he entered into a mutual bond with him that they should help each other, both being at the time outlaws. It was agreed between them that the captain should defend the rock from the seaward side, while Neil should make incursions on shore, and they promised faithfully to live and die together. To make this agreement more secure, the captain undertook to marry a daughter of Torquil Blair. The day fixed for the marriage having arrived, and Neil having discovered that the captain possessed several articles of value on board his ship, he and his adherents—the captain being naturally off his guard—treacherously seized the ship and all the crew, and sent off captain and men to Edinburgh, thus hoping to secure his own peace as well as whatever was in the ship. They were all tried and executed at Leith, by order of the Council. Much of the silver and gold Neil, it is said, carried to Harris, where probably it may have

helped to tempt Macleod, as it had already tempted himself to break faith with the captain of the *Priam*.

The following extract from a letter, dated Edinburgh, 3rd September, 1610, from Sir Alexander Hay, Clerk Register of Scotland, to a friend in London, gives a somewhat different version of the seizure of the pirate. Sir Alexander writes to his friend :—

“You have heard no doubt of the pirate ship taken by Neil Macleod of the Lewis. The case is altered when the broken Highlanders become the persecutors of pirates. Yet they still observe our form, albeit it carries not much honesty, yet it is with not less hazard. This English captain, wanting men, desired some supply from Neil, and he willingly yielded to it. Neil is feasted aboard of him, and will not be so unthankful but will repay him with a banquet on land. The captain and his company for most part being all invited, whatever their fare was, their dessert was sure. Whether it was that they refused to pay their reckoning, or that Neil held them to be heretics, and so thought them not worthy to be kept promise to, for Neil is thought to be of the Romish faith, or that now by their delivery he thought to get his pardon, he detains them, has put [some] of his own men in the ship, and hath sent advertisement to the Council, whereupon my Lord Dunbar hath directed Patrick Grieve with a ship to bring her about. By the report of the messenger who came from Neil it is affirmed that the pirate had that same intention against Neil, but the other has taken the first start. It was right, ‘sick lippes sick lattuce?’ I think the Clan Gregor could wish Bishop and Wairde and all the rest of the pirates in Breadalbane, that so they might find means of a pardon. It is reported that the ship hath some cochineal, sugar, and Barbary hides, and 26 pieces of iron, and many muskets. If His Majesty would be pleased, in regard of the service done, to direct Neil to the parts of Virginia, and to direct a state of inheritance to be given to him there, I think our country here should be best rid of him. There should be no such danger there as of his being in Ireland, for albeit both the speeches be barbarous, yet I hope he shall need an interpreter betwixt him and the savages.”

On the arrival of Grieve, Neil at once gave up his prisoners, and, at the same time, addressed a letter to



the Privy Council, in which he gives a different account of the capture to that given by Sir Alexander Hay, and also to the one given in the text from a contemporary manuscript. The following is Neil's own letter to the Privy Council:—

“Lewis, the 16th of October, 1610.

“My Lords of Council,—My duty [and] service being remembered, I received your letter from this bearer, Patrick Grieve, desiring me to deliver him the English pirate which was taken by my men, with all her equipage and apparelling. Surely, my Lords, I was not at the taking thereof, for had I been there, I should have sent the pirate, as she was taken, to His Majesty and Council; for surely I delivered her to the said Patrick, with all her munition, as I received her myself; to wit, with all her sails, tows, and two anchors, with XIV. ‘peel of grite cairte peeelis,’ with her captain and nine of his [men]. As for the rest, they were slain at the taking of the said pirate; and four Dutchmen that were taken by the captain, eight days before the hulk, passed to the mainland, for I would not hold them as prisoners, in respect they were taken by force by the captain, with two that deceased, and I did keep one Scotchman in my own company till further advice. So I rest, (Signed) NEILL M’CLOUD.”

It is not very likely that Neil would have communicated too much to the Privy Council, and his letter is not at all inconsistent with the information in Sir Alexander Hay's letter, or with the other version given in the text. If his object was to secure a pardon for past crimes, Neil did not succeed; for he was afterwards condemned to death and executed at Edinburgh, in the month of March, 1613, for murder, fire-raising, and other crimes, committed chiefly against the Fife adventurers in the Lewis. His trial is recorded in Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, Vol. III., p. 244. Sir Thomas Hamilton, the Lord Advocate of the day, writes to the King, under date 7th April, 1613, that “Neill Makcloyde died at his execution verie Christianlie.” And why not? He only acted against the law in defending what he believed to be the hereditary rights and property of his family.

In 1614, Lord Colin Mackenzie of Kintail, then a minor, was excused from accompanying the Earl of Huntly and the other Highland Chiefs to suppress a violent feud which in that year broke out among the Camerons in Lochaber. His uncle, the Tutor, pleaded the difficulties the Mackenzies had and the services they had rendered in the Lewis in previous years as a reason why they should be exempted from service on this occasion, and in response King James issued a proclamation, dated 14th of September, 1614, in the course of which he says—

“There rests none of the Isles rebellious, but only the Lewis, which being inhabited by a number of godless and lawless people, trained up from their youth in all kinds of ungodliness, they can hardly be reclaimed from their impurities and barbarities, and induced to embrace a quiet and peaceable form of living ; so that we have been constrained from time to time to employ our cousin, the Lord Kintail, who rests with God, and since his decease the Tutor of Kintail, his brother, and other friends of that house, in our service against the rebels of the Lewis, with ample commission and authority to suppress their insolence and to reduce that island to our obedience, which service has been prosecuted and followed these divers years by the power, friendship, and proper service of the House of Kintail, without any kind of trouble and charge or expense to us, or any support or relief from their neighbours ; and in the prosecution of that service they have had such good and happy success as divers of the rebels have been apprehended and executed by justice. But, seeing our said service is not yet fully accomplished, nor the Isle of the Lewis settled in a solid and perfect obedience, we have of late renewed our former commission to our cousin Colin, now Lord of Kintail, and to his Tutor and some other friends of his house, and they are to employ their hale power and service in the execution of the said commission, which being a service importing highly our honour, and being so necessary and expedient for the peace and quiet of the whole islands, and for the good of our subjects, haunting the trade of fishing in the Isles, the same ought not to be interrupted upon any other intervening occasion, and our commissioners and their friends ought not to be distracted therefrom for giving of their concurrence in our services. Therefore, we, with

advice of the Lords of our Privy Council, have given and granted our licence to our said cousin Colin, Lord of Kintail, and to his friends, men, tenants, and servants, to remain and bide at home from all osts, raids, wars, assemblings, and gatherings to be made by George, Marquis of Huntly, the Earl of Enzie, his son, or any other our lieutenants, justices, or commissioners, by sea or land, either for the pursuit of Allan Cameron of Lochiel and his rebellious complices, or for any other cause or occasion whatsoever, during or within the time of our commission foresaid granted against the Lewis, without pain or danger to be incurred by our said cousin the Lord of Kintail and his friends in their persons, lands or goods."

In consequence of this proclamation the Mackenzies were able to devote their whole attention to the pacification of the Lewis, and to strengthening their position among its people. How they succeeded, and continued in possession of this island principality for two centuries and a half—until Mrs. Stewart Mackenzie sold it in 1844 for £190,000 to the late Sir James Matheson—is already matter of history, and to deal with it in detail does not properly come within the scope of a history of the Macleods and their family Chiefs.

Gregory's account of the end of the long dispute between the Mackenzies and the Macleods of Lewis, and of the ultimate extinction of Roderick's heirs male, deserves to be given at length. Being ultimately forced by the Mackenzies to evacuate the stronghold of Berrisay, Neil, according to this author, "retired to Harris, where he remained for a while in secret, but at length surrendered himself to Ruari Macleod of Harris, whom he entreated to take him to the King of England. This the Chief of Harris undertook to do; but when at Glasgow with his prisoner, preparing to embark for England, he was charged, under the pain of treason, to deliver Neil Macleod to the Privy Council at Edinburgh, which he accordingly did; and, along with him, Neil's son Donald. Neil was brought to trial, convicted, and executed, and died 'verie christianlie' in April, 1613. Donald, his son, having been banished out of Scotland, by order of the Privy Council, went to

England and remained there three years, under the protection of Sir Robert Gordon, Tutor of Sutherland. From England he afterwards went to Holland, where he died. After the death of Neil Macleod, the Tutor of Kintail apprehended and executed Ruari and William, two of the sons of Ruari Og Macleod. Malcolm, the third son, was apprehended at the same time, but made his escape, and continued to harass the Mackenzies with frequent incursions, having allied himself to the Clاندonald of Isla and Kintyre, in whose rebellion, under Sir James Macdonald, in 1615, Malcolm MacRuari Macleod took a prominent part. On the suppression of this rebellion, he retired to Flanders, whence, in 1616, he made a visit to the Lewis, and there killed two gentlemen of the Clankenzie. He then joined Sir James Macdonald in Spain, and remained there till the return of that Chief to Britain in 1620. On this occasion Malcolm Macleod accompanied Sir James; and of his further history we only know that, in 1622, commissions of fire and sword were granted to Lord Kintail and his Clan against Malcolm MacRuari Macleod.”\*

Tormot Macleod, the last surviving *legitimate* son of Ruari Macleod of the Lewis, was imprisoned, as we have seen, at Edinburgh Castle, in 1605. Here he remained for ten years, when the King gave him liberty to go to Holland, to the service of Maurice, Prince of Orange; and he died in that country. His elder brother-german, Torquil Dubh, executed by the Mackenzies in 1579, left issue by his wife, a sister of Ruari Macleod of Harris, three sons, Ruari, William, and Torquil. The second of these seems to have died young; and although the others are mentioned by Sir Robert Gordon as young men of great promise when he wrote his account of the Siol Torquil, they appear to have both died without lawful issue to inherit their claims to the Lewis, which has now remained for upwards of two centuries, without challenge, in possession of the Mackenzies.

\* *Record of Privy Council*, 14th November, 1622, and 28th November, 1626.

The representation of the ancient and powerful family of Macleod of Lewis devolved, on the extinction of the main stem, on Gillecillum Og Macleod, or MacGillechallum of Raasay, whose father, MacGillechallum Garbh, is mentioned in a charter, dated 1572, as heir male of the family of Lewis, failing issue male of the body of Ruari Macleod, then Chief of the Siol Torquil.\*

For several months during the earlier part of 1615, Malcolm, the only surviving son of Ruari Og Macleod, one of the bastards, was actively engaged in various acts of piracy on the West Coast Highlands and in the Isles, along with Coll MacGillespick, and others of the Clاندonald of Islay; and, in April of the same year, he is included in a commission of fire and sword issued in favour of eight of the principal Western Isles Chiefs against Malcolm and his associates. Malcolm, however, managed to escape, though one of the King's ships, with a pinnace, was engaged to support the Island Chiefs in their attempts to capture him, and notwithstanding that a reward of three thousand merks was offered for his apprehension, that he might be duly punished for his share in these piracies and for the active part which, during the latter half of 1615, he took in Sir James Macdonald of Isla's rebellion. Sir James himself, however, having made his escape to Antrim, in the North of Ireland, afterwards crossed to Spain, and succeeded in getting clear of his pursuers, while Malcolm Macleod and others of his supporters found shelter on the Glynns and Route estates of the Macdonalds in the same Irish county.

In March, 1616, the Privy Council ordered Campbell of Lundy, brother of the Earl of Argyll, to appear before them, that he might receive instructions for putting down certain rebels who continued to infest the Western Isles under the leadership of Malcolm MacRuari Oig Macleod of the Lewis. Campbell, however, refused to take any action under the commission, in consequence

\* *Highlands and Isles*, pp. 336-338.



of which Malcolm again escaped, and retired to Flanders. He subsequently returned for a short time to the Lewis, where he killed two leading Mackenzies, and a third time he managed to escape. He then proceeded to Spain, where he joined Sir James Macdonald of Isla, and in 1620 returned with that Chief to Scotland. What was the outcome of the commission of fire and sword granted to the Mackenzies against him in 1622 has not been ascertained, but he is said to have on this occasion again escaped to Ireland, where he soon after died.

Sir Robert Gordon, Tutor of Sutherland, with whom Donald, Neil Macleod's eldest son, lived for three years in London, after he was banished from Scotland in 1613, gives the following details regarding other members of Old Rory's descendants who were living when Gordon wrote his *History of the Earldom of Sutherland*. "Rory Macleod, the eldest son of Torquil Dubh," he says, "is at the University of Glasgow. Torquil Macleod, the third son of Torquil Dubh, was bred with his uncle, Sir Rory Macleod of Harris, and is a youth of great expectations." Sir Robert concludes his account of the Macleods of Lewis and their misfortunes, after detailing these at considerable length, as follows:—"The Tutor of Kintail did repent himself of his proceedings against the Siol Torquil; his aim was always to have gotten the Lewis unto himself from his nephew, the Lord of Kintail, now Earl of Seaforth, in exchange for the Coigeach, and the rest of the lands that he purchased in Ross and Moray; which exchange was refused by his nephew, who was ready to fall by the ears with his uncle, when he died the year of God, 1626. Thus have I run over the lamentable history of Macleod of Lewis, together with the tribe of the Siol Torquil; which punishment was justly inflicted upon them for killing and destroying one another with intestine and civil war."\* Lord Kintail was created Earl of Seaforth in 1623, and Sir Robert Gordon's work, from which we quote, is dated in 1639. From these

\* *Earldom of Sutherland*, p. 276.



dates it will be seen that Roderick and Torquil, two sons of Torquil Dubh Macleod, and grandsons of Old Rory of the Lewis, lived far down into the seventeenth century ; but we can find no further trace of them.

Next we shall give an account of these wild proceedings as recorded in the "Ancient" manuscript history of the Mackenzies. It is remarkable to find how nearly this record corresponds with what we have already written from more authentic historical sources. After giving a full description of Lord Kenneth Mackenzie's long-continued quarrels with the family of Glengarry, in connection with the lands of Lochcarron and Castle of Strome, and his lordship's victory over them, the author of this, the oldest manuscript history of the Mackenzies in existence, says—"This Lord Kenneth was no sooner free of Glengarry's troubles, but he fell in the next in conquering the Lewis. But, for the reader's better understanding how the Lewis came to this Lord Kintail and his successors (whose rights thereto are always misrepresented by such as are alive of Macleod of Lewis's race, commonly called Siol Torquil, and the envious neighbouring clans), therefore I resolved to set down here all the circumstances of it and all the mischances that befel that family, as I was certainly informed, not only by some of that clan, but by several others *who were eye-witnesses to their fatal fortune.*" The author—after describing the elopement of Old Rory's first wife, Janet Mackenzie, with John MacGillechallum of Raasay ; the massacre of the Macleods of Gairloch and Raasay at Island Isay by Rory Nimhneach Macleod ; and the sea battle, in front of Raasay House, in which Alexander Mackenzie, younger of Gairloch, Macleod of Raasay, and many of their followers were killed—proceeds with a narrative of what occurred afterwards in the Lewis. The only change we make is to modernise the spelling. The writer says—

Rory Macleod of Lewis after that Mackenzie's daughter was ravished from him by his kinsman (as I told) he took to wife Maclean's daughter. She was mother to

Torquil Dubh Macleod and to Norman Macleod; he had also several bastards, such as Norman Uigeach, Murdo, Donald, Neil, and Rory Og, and he and they became such outlaws and oppressors that there were few or no ships in the Lewis but they seized on and took them all as free gear to themselves. This wronged so many of the inhabitants of the coast side of Fife that they used diligence of law against him and his. His eldest son, Torquil Oighre, gotten with the Lord Methven's daughter, sailing from the Lewis to Troternish, with three score young men in company, were all drowned.\* After his death, his (Roderick's) second son, Torquil Conanach, gotten with Mackenzie's daughter in marriage, who was during his brother's lifetime Laird of Coigeach, sought to be heir, but his father would not, but must needs have Torquil Dubh, gotten with Maclean's daughter, to be his heir, so that there fell out many debates betwixt them, and after debates there were several skirmishes betwixt the father and the son, two of the bastards, Norman Uigeach and Murdo, taking part with Torquil Conanach. Donald, Rory, and Neil took part with their father.

Shortly after, it fell out that Donald killed Norman Uigeach, which occasioned Torquil Conanach, being assisted by his brother Murdo, to take Donald prisoner with him to Coigeach, which incensed his father more against him. Donald, making his escape from Coigeach, came to his father Rory, who caused Donald presently apprehend his brother Murdo, which he did, and carried him prisoner to Stornoway, where his father was. They moved Torquil Conanach to go to the Lewis, where he invaded the castle of Stornoway, and, after a short siege, took it and relieved his brother Murdo. Withal he apprehended his father, and killed several of his followers. He took also all the writs and evidents

\* Sir Robert Gordon states that he was accompanied by "two hundred" men. In his *Earldom of Sutherland*, p. 268, he says—"Torkuill-Ire, sailing from the Lewes towards Tronternesse in the Skye, with two hundred men, perished with all his men by ane extraordinarie great storme and tempest."

they had of the Lewis, sent for his son, John Macleod (a brave young gentleman who was in the Marquis of Huntly's Court, all this time shunning his father's and grandfather's debates), gave him the Castle of Stornoway, and the command of all the Lewis.

This John humoured his grandfather so well that they lived together, and being in peaceable possession of all the Lewis, and acknowledged as master, he went about to banish his bastard uncles, Donald and Rory, from possessing any part thereof, which they understanding, plotted his death, and to that effect connived with one ill race of people who lived there, called Clan Illoyhenan. When Rory, Donald, and this Clan had agreed, they came to a water loch, a little towards the hill of Stornoway, where they saw seven ambushes betwixt the loch and the town, and sent one of their company to the castle to tell John that there were seven swans on that loch under a good advantage. The innocent gentleman, being desirous of sport (notwithstanding that his grandfather dissuaded him, and still told him that there was never a swan seen on that loch, and told him that he feared a plot), his destiny drawing near, he would not stay but went his way, accompanied with two Kinlochewe men only, whom he kept still in his company, and the traitor that led him by all the ambushes to the loch side. No sooner was he come there but the first ambush broke out, which he perceiving took to his heels, and runs back towards the castle. The second raised the third, fourth, fifth, and all of them (as he ran by) still shooting arrows. They killed his two men, but for all they could do he won the castle, and several arrows in him, whereof he immediately died, to the great misfortune of all his friends, and the utter ruin of that whole family.

We may remark here the fruits of fornication and adultery which was (as they say) the predominant sin of that family, and how Providence ordered these fruits to be their only ruin (and not the hand of man), and brought upon them all the disasters, distractions, and all

the murders that ever was amongst them, notwithstanding of the fabulous and envious reports which is still pretended, yea confirmed, by ill-set neighbours. But I will not insist on this shame, which was ever in that family (as the report goes), though the judgment fell in this unfortunate man's time; but I pray God it may not follow these who have in any manner of way descended of them.

Shortly after this his (John's) father, Torquil Conanach, apprehends one of the murderers, his (own) bastard brother, Donald, and caused execute him at Dingwall, in Ross. The writs and evidents that this Torquil brought out of the Lewis he gave the custody of them to Mackenzie, and withal tailzied the estate to him in case of no heirs male.

After the foresaid John's death, old Rory, by the persuasion of others (as was said), fell in his old disaffection, and would not acknowledge Torquil Conanach to be his heir; but would give the estate to Torquil Dubh, gotten with Maclean's daughter, who was now come to perfect age, and began to rule the estate with his father. But Torquil Conanach daily skirmished with them, being assisted by as many as pleased to follow him from the in-countries. My Lord Kintail, of whom he expected help (as was said), was at that time at war with Glengarry. In the meantime there fell out a discord betwixt Torquil Dubh and Rory Og the Bastard (the other of John's murderers). He (Torquil) apprehends him and sends him prisoner to his uncle Maclean; but making his escape (being in winter) he perished in a snow storm, leaving behind him three sons, Malcolm that [in 1616] killed John Mac Mhurchaidh Mhic Uilleam—a gentleman of the Clan Mhurchaidh that lived in Rainish, in the Lewis; and after that he killed John Mac Dhomh'uill Phiopaire, my Lord Kintail's piper. Afterwards he went to Germany, but, hearing Thomas Mackenzie of Pluscardine was there, he returned to Ireland, where he died. His two other brothers, William and Rory, were taken afterwards by the Tutor of Kintail, and were executed as rebels.

Torquil Conanach and Torquil Dubh had their several factions, the one plotting the other's destruction, so that it fell out that the Brieve (that is to say Judge) in the Lewis, who was Chief of the Clan 'Illemhoire there, being sailing from the Isle of Lewis to the Isle of Rona, in a great galley, met with a Dutch ship, loaded with wine, which he took, and advising with his friends (who were all with him there) what he would do with the ship, lest Torquil Dubh should take her from him, they resolved to return to Stornoway and call for Torquil Dubh to receive the wine, and if he came to the ship, to sail away with him where Torquil Conanach was, and then they might be sure of the ship and the wine to be their own; and, besides, he (Torquil Conanach) would grant them tacks in the best "roums" in Lewis; which accordingly they did, and called for Torquil to come and receive the wine. Torquil Dubh, nowise mistrusting them that were formerly so obedient, entered the ship, with seven others in his company, when he was welcomed; and he commended them as good fellows that brought him such a prize. They invited him to the cabin to take his pleasure of the toast of their wine; he goes, but instead of wine they brought cords to tie him, telling him he had best render himself and his wrongly possessed estate to his older brother; that they resolved to put him in his mercy, which he was forced to yield to; so they presently sailed for Coigeach and delivered him to his brother, whom he had no sooner got but he made him short by the head, in the month of July, 1597. Immediately, as he was beheaded, there arose a great earthquake which astonished the actors and all the inhabitants about them, as a sign of God's judgment.

When the rumour of this unnatural murder was divulged everywhere, all the chief heads of the neighbouring clans (that were anyways related to Torquil Dubh, such as Macleod of Harris, Maclean, Macdonald, the Captain of Clanranald, and Mac Dhomh'uill Duibh), met in the Isle of Skye to consult about the affair, where it was thought

that Torquil Conanach would not take away his brother's head were it not my Lord Kintail's persuasion; whereupon they resolved to join unanimously together, and ruin them both, and to begin on my Lord Kintail; but he, hearing this resolution of theirs, being a man of undaunted spirit, did not value much their brag, but being advised by his friends and some well-wishers, he caused apprehend Norman Macleod, brother to Torquil Dubh, and kept him honourably as a pledge and as an overband against his friends' resolution. Withal he sent out a strong watch to guard the borders of his countries privately, who met with twenty men—the connivers sent for a heirschip to breed the quarrel. The watch having met them in Strathloynie put them all to the sword. The connivers finding this to be the first fruits of their undertaking, and that he had apprehended Norman, thought there was no dealing with him, and that he would ruin them all with diligence and power. But some were of thought (as was said) they had followed their project, but that Maclean, though he was nearest related to Torquil Dubh, had a reluctancy to enter in blood with him (Mackenzie); whereupon fearing the worst they broke their unity.

In the meantime the Brieve and his followers were hated of all men by reason of his treachery and breach of faith to Torquil Dubh. He, finding himself thus hated, took himself to the parish of Ness, in the Lewis, which he was forced to leave also by reason of Neil Macleod's pursuit, who killed several of his followers and leaders. At last John Mac Dhomh'uill Mhic Uistean met with him in the country of Assynt, killed himself and six of his followers. In revenge hereof, one Gillecillum Mor went in search of John Mac Dhomh'uill Mhic Uistean, but John, by good fortune, takes him in Coigeach, and brought him to the Lewis, where they made him short by the head.

About this time the barons and gentlemen in Fife, hearing of the troubles and miseries which were in the Lewis, were enticed by persuasion of some who had come



from there of late, who gave them a full account thereof. They being desirous to take any opportunity whereby they might redress their losses, besides the account they had of the fertility of the island, so, having the laws against Rory Macleod of Lewis and all his followers, they went where the King was and got a right of the Lewis from him, in the year 1598, being then at the King's disposal, all of them (the people of Lewis) being denounced rebels, and they undertook to His Majesty (a hard task in those days) to civilise the island and to plant a colony there, which proved a loss to them, for instead of that they broke themselves and their interests, as you shall see.

The adventurers (for so must we call them) having met in Fife, where they gathered a company of soldiers and officers of all sorts, and such other things as they thought necessary for a plantation, so, transporting themselves to the Lewis, they built houses and "skonses" about Stornoway. In end they made a bonny village of it.

Neil Macleod and Murdo Macleod (the Bastards) now only remain in that island, of the family of Clan Torquil, which two gainstood the undertakers. Murdo Macleod apprehended the laird of Balcolmly together with his ship, killed all his men, and detained himself prisoner for four months; but, on promise of a ransom, he released him. Balcolmly dying in his return homewards to Fife, Murdo was disappointed of the ransom.

About the same time Neil fell out with his brother Murdo for owning the Clan 'Illemhoire (the Morrisons), so that Neil apprehended Murdo, with divers of this clan, whom he put to death, and kept his own brother Murdo alive.

The adventurers hearing that Neil apprehended Murdo, sent him a message that if he would deliver them his brother Murdo, they would agree with himself, and give him a portion in the Lewis, and also assist him in revenging his brother, Torquil Dubh's murder; whereunto he hearkened and gave them his brother Murdo, whom they presently sent to St. Andrews, and beheaded him.

After this, Neil went with them to Edinburgh, got his pardon, and went back with them to the Lewis; but shortly after he fell at variance with them for some injury Sir James Spence of Ormistoun offered to him, whereupon he left them. Then they began to lay snares for him, the laird of Ormistoun having sent a party on a dark night to apprehend him. Neil being guarded thereof, sees them coming, falls upon them unexpectedly, kills three score of them, and chased the rest till they were rescued from the town.

The Lord Kintail, considering that the Lewis was like to pass from Torquil Conanach, and altogether from the right line, commiserating the Clan Torquil's condition, he sets Norman Macleod (after he kept him at school), Torquil Dubh's brother, gotten (by Old Rory) with Maclean's daughter, at liberty, to do for himself. No sooner was Norman arrived in Lewis, but Neil Macleod, Donald Dubh MacRory, and their adherents, with the inhabitants, came to him and acknowledged him as their lord and master. So Norman invades the adventurers, burns their fort, kills the most of their men, took their commanders prisoners, and keeps them four months; but upon promise they should never come again to the Lewis, and that they would procure him and his followers a pardon from His Majesty of all their by-gone offences, he inconsiderately lets them all go.

Thus Norman for a while possessed the Lewis, during which time John MacDhomh'uill Mhic Uistean that killed the Brieve apprehended Torquil Conanach, carried him prisoner to his younger brother, Norman, to the Lewis, who desired him to give up the writs and evidents he took from his father, Rory. Torquil said that he had given them in custody to my Lord Kintail. Norman, considering that these evidents were in Mackenzie's hands, released his brother on conditions he would never claim any right to the Lewis, but to have Coigeach to himself and successors as his proportion of his father's estate. The releasing of Torquil was far against Neil and his

adherents' advice, who would have him to be executed, as he did his former brother ; but Norman said he would not enter in his own blood, nor had he will to disoblige the Mackenzies, who had their rights in their hands, and that he knew they were not well pleased with him (Torquill) for that unnatural murder (whose revenge he would refer to God), and although he was (himself) a prisoner with them on several occasions, that they gave him breeding as one of their own, and when they (his family) were all like to lose their interest through their own miscarriage, they let him go to act for himself in their greatest straits.

In the meantime, my Lord Kintail (by the grievances of the adventurers) was put in question by the King, His Majesty being informed by them that the Lord Kintail was their only crosser, and to that effect he let Norman loose to undo their designs, for which my Lord Kintail was put in prison at Edinburgh, and thereafter to his trial, from which he escaped, the King being informed that it was the undertakers' own negligence and mismanagement that wronged them, and nothing else.

Whereupon the adventurers (contrary to their promise) turn again to the Lewis, and, by virtue of the King's commission, were assisted with forces from the neighbouring countries against Norman and his followers. How soon the adjoining forces, with the adventurers, were landed in the Lewis they sent a message to Norman that if he would yield to them, in the King's name, that they would (on their own charges) freely transport him to London, where the King was, and obtain him his pardon ; and, not only that, but deal for the King's favour, and procure some livelihood for him whereupon he might live in peace. Norman condescends hereto against the opinion of Neil and all his well-wishers, who stood out, and would not yield. So the adventurers sent Norman to London, where he caused His Majesty to be informed how the Lewis was the inheritance of his predecessors, that His Majesty was sinisterously informed by the adventurers,

who made His Majesty believe that he might legally dispose of it, whereupon proceeded much unnecessary trouble and bloodship; therefore he humbly begged His Majesty to do him justice in restoring him to his own peace, which the King was like to do; but the adventurers, understanding that the King began to give hearing to Norman's complaints, used all their "moyan" and industry to cross him. In end, some of them being the King's domestic servants, they prevailed so far as to cause apprehend him and send him a prisoner to Scotland, where he remained, at Edinburgh, till the year 1608, when the King gave him liberty to pass to Holland, to Maurice, Prince of Orange, where he ended his days.

The adventurers having got Norman out of their way, settled again in the Lewis; but they had not stayed long there when divers of them began to weary. Some of them drawing back from the enterprise, others were not able, for lack of money, to hold out, having both broken their credit and interest; many of them also dying in that plantation; some having other business to abstract them, and always daily vexed by Neil's skirmishes; in end all of them gave over, left the Lewis, and retired to Fife.

My Lord Kintail, finding that the right line male of the Siol Torquil were now all gone, and that the adventurers also failed in their enterprise to the Lewis, he, by virtue of the fore-mentioned tailzie granted to him by Torquil Conanach, passed a gift of it to his lady, under the King's seal. But how soon the undertakers understood this, some of them went and complained to the King (though they were not able to manage it for themselves); they incensed him against my Lord Kintail, and made him resign that right into His Majesty's hand, by means of my Lord Balmerino, then Secretary for Scotland, and President of the Session, which right, being now at His Majesty's disposal, he gave the same to three persons, to wit, this Lord Balmerino, Sir George Hay (afterwards Chancellor of Scotland) and to Sir James

Spence of Ormistoun, who, having now the right of the Lewis in their persons, undertook the planting of it, whereunto they made great preparations, being, by order of His Majesty, assisted by all the neighbouring Clans, the order being especially for the Mackenzies (they being the marrers of the former adventurers), so that my Lord Kintail was forced to send 400 men to their assistance, under the command of Sir Rory Mackenzie, afterwards Tutor of Kintail, and Alexander Mackenzie of Coul, to plant a garrison there, and apprehend Neil if possible. But Neil, seeing such preparations, withdrew himself and kept him secret till a better opportunity. The undertakers, being fallen short of provision for so great an army, in end they were forced to dismiss the neighbouring Clans.

Sir George Hay and Ormistoun returned to Fife, leaving a garrison in Stornoway to keep the fort till they would send a supply of men and victuals. But no sooner were they gone but Neil, and Gillecillum Mor (Malcolm) MacRory, his nephew, with some others of the inhabitants, burnt the fort, killed several of them, and apprehended the rest, whom they let go upon their oath that they would never come on that pretence again, which they never did; nor could the adventurers get any thereafter on any account ever to come and conquer the Lewis. So the Lord Balmerino, Sir George Hay, and Sir James Spence, finding they were not able to manage the affair, and could not get men to follow them, they sent for my Lord Kintail, and (as God would have it, whom they put from his former right) sold to him their own right and title thereof, with the forfeitry of Troternish and Water-nish, for a sum of money, wherein they took the woods of Letterewe in part payment, so that Providence ordered the Lewis this way, contrary to all such as did strive to cross him, so that notwithstanding of his neighbours' malicious and various reports, this is the whole progress of his attaining to the Lewis.\*

\* From the "Ancient" Manuscript History of the Mackenzies, written about the middle of the seventeenth century.

Roderick Macleod, X. of the Lewis, married, first, Janet, an illegitimate daughter of John Mackenzie, IX. of Kintail, and widow of Mackay of Reay. By this marriage he had issue—

1. Torquil “Conanach,” so-called from his having been brought up by his mother’s relations in Strathconan. Torquil married Margaret, daughter of Angus Macdonald, VII. of Glengarry, widow of Cuthbert of Castlehill, Inverness, by whom she became progenitrix of the famous Charles Colbert, Marquis of Seignelay, Minister of Louis XVI. of France. By her Torquil had issue—(1) John, who died before his father, having been killed near Stornoway by his bastard uncle, Rory Og; (2) another son, who also died before his father; (3) Margaret, who, on the death of her brothers, became her father’s heir. She married Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Tarbat (second son of Colin Cam, XI. of Kintail), afterwards known as the famous Tutor of Kintail, progenitor of the Mackenzie Earls of Cromarty; (4) Elizabeth, who married Duncan Bain of Tulloch; (5) Catherine, who married Colin Mackenzie, third son of George, second Earl of Seaforth, with issue; (6) Janet, who married Roderick Mackenzie, III. of Fairburn, with issue—four daughters; and (7) Florence, who married Neil Macleod, IX. of Assynt, eldest son, by the first marriage, of Donald Bàn Mor, X. of Assynt, with issue. It will thus be seen that Torquil Conanach, Roderick’s only son by the first marriage, left no surviving male issue. His mother, Janet Mackenzie, eloped with John MacGillechallum, brother of Alexander Macleod, II. of Raasay, whereupon she was, soon afterwards, divorced by Roderick Macleod of the Lewis.

Old Rory married secondly, in 1541, Barbara Stewart, daughter of Andrew, Lord Avandale, with issue—

2. Torquil “Oighre,” so called to distinguish him from his elder brother, disinherited by Roderick, on the ground of his mother’s alleged infidelity with Morrison, the *Breitheamh*, or Celtic Judge of the Lewis. Torquil Oighre, after attaining manhood, predeceased his father,



having been drowned, with sixty—some authorities say two hundred—followers, while on a voyage in his birlinn from the Lewis to the Isle of Skye. He left no male issue.

Roderick married, thirdly, a sister of Lachlan Maclean of Duart, with issue, two sons—

3. Torquil Dubh, whom his father declared his heir and successor, and who, for a time, maintained possession of the Lewis. He married a sister of Sir Rory Mor Macleod, XIII. of Harris and Dunvegan, with issue, three sons—Roderick, William, and Torquil, all three of whom are said to have died without legitimate issue. Torquil Dubh himself, as we have seen, was killed by his eldest brother, Torquil Conanach, in July, 1597, before the death of his father, Old Rory.

4. Tormod, who, in 1608, entered the service of Maurice, Prince of Orange, where he died, without legitimate male issue, when, and in consequence of which, the representation of the Macleods of Lewis devolved upon the family of Raasay, of which presently.

It will have been observed that Old Roderick, the date of whose death we are unable positively to fix, had also five bastard sons—Torquil Uigeach, Murdoch, Neil, Donald, and Rory Og, all of whom, and their sons, took a leading part in the final struggle of the Macleods to maintain their ancient rights to the great Island principality of the Lewis.

## THE MACLEODS OF RAASAY.

THE first notice we find of Raasay is in the account of King Haco of Norway's expedition to Scotland in 1262. Here the island is mentioned as a point in his Majesty's route on his way south to meet the Scots at Largs, where he was completely defeated, and his power in Scotland finally crushed, on the 3rd of October in that year. At a very early period in their history the "Siol Torquil" had, in addition to the Lewis, very extensive possessions, comprehending not only the islands of Raasay and Rona, but also Waternish in Skye, and the wide districts of Assynt, Coigeach and Gairloch, on the mainland. It is thought that the same branch of the Clan, descended from the House of Lewis, inherited both Gairloch and Raasay long before Malcolm Garbh MacGillechallum received the latter as his patrimony from his father, Malcolm Macleod, IX. of the Lewis, early in the sixteenth century. It is quite clear that both the lands of Gairloch on the mainland, and the Islands of Raasay and Rona, were held by Macleod offshoots from the Lewis stem long before this time, though scarcely any record—beyond mere tradition—remains to throw light on their first settlement, or on their history in Gairloch during the fifteenth century. The only fact we can find on record regarding this early period is that, in 1430, James I. of Scotland granted "to

Nele Nelesoun [Neil, son of Neil Macleod] for his hom-age and service in the capture of his deceased brother Thomas Nelesoun, a rebel, the lands of Gerloch and others in the Earldom of Ross and Sutherland and Sherifffdom of Innernys." This Neil is supposed to have conquered and driven out most of the Macbeaths, the original possessors of the district, having captured their strongholds of Island Ghrudaidh, on Loch Maree; the small island, then occupied, on Loch Tolly; and the Dun, at the east end of the Big Sand, on an elevated and easily defended rock near the present Established Church, and of which the foundation can still be traced. This latter stronghold must have been somewhat imposing in those days, for the circumference of what yet remains of it measures about 200 feet. Later on, the Macleods, during the sixteenth century, held places of strength at "Uamh nam Freiceadan," between Opinan and Porthenderson, on the south side of the Loch, almost opposite Rona, and another on Eilean Ruairidh Bhig, on Loch Maree, afterwards one of the residences of John Roy Mackenzie, IV. of Gairloch. The walls of the house and garden can still be traced, and one of the gooseberry bushes which adorned John Roy's garden remained when we last visited the island some ten years ago. These are said to be the last places in Gairloch occupied by the Macleods.

Neil Macleod would seem to have been succeeded by a Roderick Macleod, for about 1480 we find that the head of the Gairloch Macleods was named Allan "Mac Ruairidh"—Allan the son of Roderick—who was sufficiently important and powerful to have obtained, as his first wife, a daughter of Alexander Mackenzie, VI. of Kintail, and sister of Hector Roy, the last-named ultimately securing two-thirds of Allan's lands, and becoming the founder of the present Gairloch family. Allan married, secondly, a daughter of Roderick Macleod, VII. of Lewis, by whom he had one son, Roderick, afterwards known as Ruairidh Mac Ailean, *alias* Ruairidh "Nimhneach," author of the atrocious massacre of the Macleods of Raasay and

Gairloch at Island Islay, near Waternish, in the Isle of Skye, and of which in its proper place. Allan was also related to the family of his Chief in the Lewis, but what the actual relationship was it is impossible now to say. Two of his brothers are said, according to tradition, to have resided with their relatives in the Lewis; and to have resolved that no Mackenzie blood should flow in the veins of the future Chiefs of the Gairloch family. Allan Mac Ruairidh, who was himself a peacefully disposed man, lived at the "Crannag," of which traces are still to be found on a small island in Loch Tolly, with his second wife, his two sons by his first wife, and a daughter. His brothers determined to murder Allan and his three boys by Mackenzie of Kintail's daughter, so that the estate should revert to themselves and their relations. For this purpose they sailed across the Minch to Gairloch, and took up their abode at the old *Tigh Dige*, a wattled house surrounded by a ditch, the site of which is still pointed out in one of the Flowerdale parks, a few hundred yards above the stone bridge which crosses the Ceann-an-t-Sail river in front of the Post-office at the head of Gairloch Bay. Next day the murderous villains proceeded to Loch Tolly. On their way they learnt that Allan was not then on the island, but had gone a-fishing on the river Ewe. They at once proceeded in that direction, found him sound asleep on the banks of the river, at "Cnoc na mi-chomhairle," and, without any warning, there and then, made him short by the head." They then retraced their steps, and crossing to the island where Allan's wife, with two of her three step-children resided, they, in the most cold-blooded manner, informed her of her husband's fate, tore the two boys—the third being fortunately absent—from her knees, took them ashore, and carried them along to a small glen through which the Poolewe road passes about a mile to the south of the loch, and there, at a place still called "Creag Bhadan an Aisc," or the "Rock at the place of Burial," stabbed them to the heart with their daggers, and carried their blood-stained

shirts or tunics along with them to the Tigh Dige. These shirts the stepmother ultimately secured by the strategy of one of her husband's retainers, who at once proceeded with them to the boys' grandfather, Alexander Mackenzie of Kintail, at Brahan Castle. Hector Roy immediately started, carrying the blood-stained shirts along with him as evidence of the atrocious deed, to report the murder to the King at Edinburgh. His Majesty, on hearing of the crime, at once granted Hector a commission of fire and sword against the murderers of his nephews, and gave him a grant of the lands of Gairloch in his own favour, by charter, dated 1494, from the Crown. The assassins were soon afterwards slain at a hollow still pointed out between South Erradale and Point, almost opposite the Island of Raasay, where their graves are yet to be seen, quite fresh and green, among the surrounding heather.

This much of the early history of the Macleods of Gairloch is necessary to clear up their after relations with the Macleods of Raasay, who so stoutly aided their namesakes on the mainland for more than a century in their struggles to retain the small portion still left to them, and in their futile attempts to recover the two-thirds of Gairloch, granted to Hector Roy by Crown charter, until they were finally driven from the district altogether, about 1600.

Torquil Macleod of the Lewis, who had a charter under the Great Seal, dated 28th of June, 1498, had a son, Torquil, who, on his father's forfeiture in 1506, was excluded from the succession. Malcolm, Torquil's brother, had the estates restored to him in 1511, to the exclusion of Torquil's son, known as John Mac Torquil. This John, however, died in 1532 without male issue, so that his cousin, Malcolm's son Roderick, became the head of the family by right of birth, as well as proprietor of the lands in terms of the Royal charter. Malcolm, or Gillecallum Macleod, IX. of Lewis, had married Christian, daughter of Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty, with issue—first, Roderick, his heir, who succeeded him in the Lewis, and second,

Malcolm Garbh MacGillechallum, the first of the Macleods of Raasay known in history. The first of the historic Macleods of Raasay was thus—

# I. MALCOLM GARBH MACGILLECHALLUM MACLEOD,

Second son of Malcolm Macleod, IX. of Lewis, by his wife, Christian, daughter of Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty. He succeeded to Raasay early in the sixteenth century. The earliest glimpse which we get of the Macleods of Raasay as an independent sept is when, in 1518-19, along with the Macleods of Lewis, they accompanied Sir Donald Gallda of Lochalsh in an invasion of Ardnamurchan, on which occasion they defeated the Macdonalds and slew their Chief, MacIan, with two of his sons. For some time prior to this, as already seen, a branch of the Macleods of Lewis held possession of the lands of Gairloch on the mainland, and they seem to have been intimately related to those who occupied Raasay before Malcolm Garbh became possessor of it. From what has been said, it will appear that the island was occupied by Macleods long before the progenitor of the house of Raasay, whose history we are now dealing with, obtained it in patrimony from his father, Malcolm Macleod, IX. of the Lewis.

Farquhar, Bishop of the Isles, has an action in 1532-33 against Macneil of Barra, and “MacGillechallum callit of Raasay.”\* At that time, and for two hundred years later, the Islands of Raasay, Rona, and Flodda, formed part of the parish of Snizort, of which Archdeacon Monro, author of the well-known *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*, written in 1549, was at one time Vicar. The parish of Portree in those days had no existence; for it was only in 1726 that the old parish of Snizort was disjoined, when a portion of it, along with Raasay and the adjacent islands—in the olden times a parish by themselves—was erected into the modern parish of Portree.

In 1501 James IV. presented Sir Nichol Berchame

\* *Acta Dominorum Concilii et Sessionis*; 14 March, 1532-33.



to the vicarage of Kilmolowok, in Raasay, one of the "annexis of Sneshfuird." In 1526 James V. presented Sir Donald Monro, afterwards the well-known Archdeacon and High Dean of the Isles, to the vicarage of "Sneisport and Rairsay," vacant by the decease of Sir Tormot MacFarsane. In 1561 the parsonage of Snizort belonged to the Bishop of the Isles. A considerable part of the Skye portion of the parish, at that time and long after, belonged to the Macleods of Raasay, who continued to possess that island by the sword, notwithstanding that by heritage it belonged to the Bishop.

Dean Monro, who had such good opportunities of knowing it, describes Raasay as an island "with part of birch woods, many deer, part of profitable lands, inhabited and manured." Raasay had two castles, the castle of Kilmorocht or Kilmaluag, and the castle of Brolokit or Brochel, with "two fair orchards at the said two castles, with one parish kirk, called Killmolowocke, a rough country, but full of freestones and good quarries. It is excellent for fishing, pertaining to MacGillechallum of Raasay by the sword, and to the bishop of the Isles by heritage." Rona, which he describes as "half a mile of sea from Raasay," is "more than a mile in length, full of wood and heather, with one haven for Highland galleys in the middle of it; and the same haven is good for fostering of thieves, riggers, and rievvers, 'till a nail upon the peilling' and spuillying of poor people."

The present mansion-house of Raasay stands on the site of the old castle of Kilmaluag, which was taken down in 1746. The position of Castle Brochel, situated near the north end of the island, on a rock of conglomerate, accessible only on the side next the sea, is well known. It consisted of two small towers of two storeys each, built on two different ledges of the rock. Traces of these towers still remain.

Malcolm Garbh married and had issue, at least two sons,

1. Alexander, his heir and successor.

2. John, known as "Ian na Tuaighe," erroneously said

to have been one of the heads of the family. It was he who carried off, and afterwards married, Janet Mackenzie, the wife of his uncle, Roderick Macleod, X. of Lewis, by whom she was in consequence divorced. This wicked act of John Na Tuaighe resulted in the ultimate ruin of the family of Lewis, and was the cause of the massacre at Island Islay, where the direct male heir of the Macleods of Gairloch and all the male children of Alexander second of Raasay were cut off, with the exception of one boy, another MacGillechallum Garbh, who ultimately succeeded to the estates.

MacGillechallum Garbh died in the reign of Queen Mary (1542-1567), when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

## II. ALEXANDER MACGILLECHALLUM MACLEOD.

Of his life, marriage, or death, scarcely anything is known. He is said in *Douglas's Baronage* to have died in the reign of James VI. (1567-1603); and he is probably the same MacGillechallum referred to, in 1549, by Dean Monro of the Isles.

From a retour of service in favour of Janet and Giles Macleod, heirs of line of the family of Raasay in 1688, it is clear that this Alexander MacGillechallum—son of Malcolm—succeeded his father, and that Ian na Tuaighe was never one of the Chiefs or heads of the house. In the retour the ladies, as heirs of line, conquest, and provision, are described as the daughters of their father, Alexander Macleod, *alias* Mac Alastair Mhic Gillechallum. This Alastair is declared to be the grandfather of the ladies, and he is also described as “the son and heir of Malcolm Macleod, *alias* Mac Gillechallum of Raasay, the great-grandfather of the said Janet and Gilles,” and is himself named as “Mac Alastair, Mhic Gillechallum of Raasay.” This exhausts the genealogy of the family backwards from 1688, to its source, and corresponds exactly with that given in *Douglas's Baronage*, which, in this case, happens

to be correct. It is therefore certain that the notorious Ian na Tuaighe, the author of so much family misfortune, was not himself Chief but the Chief's brother. The object of the massacre of Island Islay thus becomes apparent. Its author, Ruairi Nimhneach Macleod of Gairloch, not only determined to get rid of John's children by his first wife, Janet Mackenzie, but also to remove the direct line of the Macleods of Raasay, so that John na Tuaighe's son by his second wife, Rory Nimhneach's sister, or his own son Allan, should succeed to the lands of Raasay, and help Ruairi himself afterwards to regain possession of the lands of Gairloch.

Roderick's name appears as "Rory Mac Allan, *alias* Nevynnauch," in a decree-arbitral by the Regent Earl of Murray between Donald Macdonald, fifth of Sleat, and Colin Mackenzie, XI. of Kintail, dated at Perth, 1st of August, 1569. Macdonald of Sleat becomes responsible for him, and undertakes that he and his kin shall "desist and cease from all troubling, molesting, harming, or invasion of the said Laird of Gairloch's lands, rowmes, possessions, tenants, servants, and goods, while Mackenzie, on the other hand, is to see to it that Torquil Conanach shall cease to do the same in all respects to Macdonald's lands."\* We also find Rory Nimhneach's name mentioned in a document dated 11th November, 1586, as one against whom an action had been raised, with several others, including "Rawsay of that Ilk," for molesting those burgesses engaged in the fisheries in the North Isles and adjacent mainland. In this action he is described as Rory Mac Allan "of Lochgair." We also find "M'Leud, heretour of the landis of Lochgair," mentioned in the same act of Council. These facts prove that Rory was not then the lawful heritor of the Macleod portion of the Gairloch lands.

It was about this period that the massacre of the Macleods of Raasay by Rory Nimhneach Macleod—a son of

\* For this Decree-arbitral at length, see Mackenzie's *History of the Macdonalds and Lords of the Isles*, pp. 185-188.

Allan Macleod of Gairloch, by his second wife—a daughter of Roderick Macleod, VII. of Lewis—took place. This massacre has been erroneously attributed to Rory Mac-Allan's grandfather, Roderick Macleod VII. of Lewis, and by some writers confused with another Macleod massacre of a very similar character, both in its cold-blooded atrocity and aims, which was perpetrated at Loch Tolly, in Gairloch, and already referred to. Rory Nimhneach, it appears, was not the eldest son and lawful successor of Macleod of Gairloch; for he seems to have determined not only upon opening up the succession of Raasay but also that of Gairloch to his own son, by cutting off the only child of his own father by his first marriage with Mackenzie's daughter who survived the previous massacre at Loch Tolly Island. He did not, however, succeed in either object.

The monster having once determined upon his murderous object—to assassinate all the direct male representatives of Alexander Macleod, II. of Raasay, and the children of Ian na Tuaighe by his first wife, Janet Mackenzie, as well as the lawful heirs of the Gairloch Macleods—his own brother's children—he, in the most atrocious manner, set about it by inviting all the members of both families to a great feast at the Island of Isay, in Waternish, professing to each of them that he had matters of importance to communicate to him. They were thus led into the trap prepared for them, all accepting the invitation except a boy, then only nine years of age, who was being fostered from home. Roderick feasted his visitors sumptuously at a great banquet. In the middle of the festivities he communicated to them his desire to have each man's advice separately, at the same time stating that he would afterwards make known to them the business for which he called them together, and which concerned each of them closely. He then retired into a separate apartment, and called them in one by one, when they were each, as they entered, stabbed with dirks through the body by a set of murderous villains whom he had

engaged and posted inside the room for that purpose. Not one of the family of Raasay was left alive, except the boy, already mentioned, whom his foster-father sent privately, when the massacre became known, to the Laird of Calder, who kept him in safety during his minority. He afterwards, by the assistance of the Mackenzies, obtained possession of his estates, and became Gillechallum Garbh MacGillechallum, III. of Raasay. In the meantime, Rory Nimhneach's son, Allan, took possession of Raasay, Roderick himself, apparently, appropriating the Macleod lands in Gairloch.

Allan, Roderick's son, after the massacre took up his residence at Castle Brochel, the then residence of the Macleods of Raasay. But Donald MacNeill, who had previously saved young Malcolm's life by sending him to the Laird of Calder, now brought him back, and kept him in hiding until, as the rightful heir, he could obtain possession of the stronghold in which the usurper resided. This he managed by arrangement with the keeper of the castle, who preferred the native heir to the representative of the Macleods of Gairloch. An agreement was entered into that, when Donald MacNeill presented himself with young Malcolm he should receive access to the castle. The commander honourably kept his word; and the future MacGillechallum Garbh was in due course proclaimed, and, by the assistance of the Mackenzies of Gairloch, maintained in possession against all his enemies, as Laird of Raasay.

Alexander Macleod, second of Raasay married, with issue, among others, his heir and successor,

### III. MALCOLM OR MACGILLECHALLUM GARBH MACLEOD.

He is mentioned in a charter under the Great Seal, by James VI., dated 14th of February, 1571-72, in favour of Torquil Conanach Macleod, son and heir of Roderick Macleod, X. of the Lewis—*Torquilo Macleod filio et hæredi Roderici Macleod de Lewes, et hæredibus masculis de corpore*

*suo legitime procreat, seu procreānd. Suibus deficiens Gillicallmo Vic Gillicallum Garve Macleod de Rasay, hæredibus suis, etc. terrarum baronie de Assynt, etc. infra vicecomitat. de Ross, et terras de insula de Lewes in vicecomitat. de Inverness, super resignatione dict. quondam Roderici sui patris, in libera baronia de Lewes, unit. etc.* From this charter it is perfectly clear that on the failure of the heirs male of Roderick Macleod, X. of the Lewis, this MacGillechallum Garbh of Raasay and his descendants became the nearest male representatives of that ancient family.

In an Act of the Lords of Session and Council, dated 3rd December, 1580, in an action by the Bishop of the Isles against several of the Island Chiefs, Malcolm Garbh is mentioned as "Gilleschallum M'Gilleschallum of Rasay" immediately before Roderick Macleod of Lewis, John MacIan of Ardnamurchan, Lachlan Maclean of Duart, Tormot Macleod of Harris, and Donald Macdonald Gorm of Sleat. The action is "to have it found and decreed that the said persons and each one of them, has intromitted with the mails, 'fermis,' teinds, and duties pertaining and belonging to the lands and kirks pertaining to the said reverend father within the Bishopric of the Isles and Abbey of Icolmkill, each one of them for their own parts of the crops and years of God 1572-73, and divers other years; extending to divers avail, quantity and prices like as at more length is contained in the said summons, acts, and letters made thereupon before." The Bishop appeared by his procurator, but the Chiefs, among whom are many others besides those whose names we give, "being lawfully summoned to this action, oftentimes called and not compearing," the Lords of Council continued it, without prejudice of parties, to the 12th of April following, when all the witnesses, who are ordered to be summoned anew, had to appear under more severe penalties.\* On the 8th of December, 1580, Lachlan Maclean of Duart

\* Act of the Lords of Council and Session *in causa* Bishop of the Isles against the Islesmen, 1580, quoted at length at pp. 13 and 14 *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*.



enters into a contract with the Bishop on the subject of his claims, but on the 26th of July, 1581, his Lordship receives the escheat of Duart's goods "moveable and unmoveable" which may fall into the King's hands, and those of several others of the western Chiefs, who had been declared rebels and put to the horn, at the instance of the Bishop for nonpayment of their formes, mails, teinds, and duties, pertaining to the Bishopric of the Isles and the Abbacy of Icolmkill for the crops of 1575, 1576, 1577, and 1578.\* There is, however, no further trace, so far as we know, of the action against MacGillechallum Garbh and the other island Chiefs for the Bishop's dues in connection with the crops of 1572-73.

Malcolm's name appears as "Makgillichallum of Raarsay" in the roll of landlords appended to the Act of Parliament, known as the "General Band," passed in 1587 for quieting and keeping in obedience the disorderly subjects of the portions of the Borders, Highlands, and Isles, "quhair brokin men hes duelt and presentlie duellis." It is worthy of note that while in the roll of broken clans named in an Act of Parliament, passed in 1594, "for punishment of thift, reiff, oppressioun, and soirning," the Macleods of Lewis and Harris are each separately mentioned, the Macleods of Raasay are not.

In February, 1588, a strong force, under the Chiefs of Mackintosh, Mackay, Munro, Macleod of Assynt, and "Gilcalme" Macleod of Raasay, joined the Earl of Sutherland in an expedition to Caithness, to enforce a commission of fire and sword which his lordship had obtained against the Earl of Caithness, with the view of punishing him for killing George Gordon of Marle, who had, some time before, insulted the Earl of Caithness by cutting off the tails of his Lordship's horses. On the approach of this strong force, under the Earl of Sutherland, the people of Caithness became much alarmed and fled in all directions. Many were killed, and a great spoil of goods and cattle

\* The Contract is recorded on the 26th of December in the *General Register of Deeds*, Vol. 19, and in the *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. 48, p. 29.

was carried away, in consequence of which the event has since been known in local chronology as "*Latha na Creach Mhor*," or The Day of the Great Spoil. Sir Robert Gordon names Gillechallum and John MacGillechallum as being both personally present on the occasion. Sir Robert says that the ruthless invaders "burnt and wasted the town of Wick, but they saved the Church, where the last Earl of Caithness's heart was found in a case of lead; the ashes of which heart was thrown with the wind by John MacGillechallum, Raasay," who was, no doubt, the notorious Ian na Tuaighe, or a son of his bearing the same name.

It would appear that there was always a wild, mischief-making "John MacGillechallum" among the most immediate connections of this family in its earlier history, but no one of the name of John was among its earlier Chiefs. When and how Ian na Tuaighe ended his days we have not been able to ascertain, but there is no doubt that he was succeeded by a son or near relative of the same name, who inherited his blood-thirsty and worst qualities. What the exact relationship his successor in evil—this second John—had to the head of the house at this period it is impossible to say. But that he was in no respect better than his namesake of the Tuagh is clear from the picture presented in the following extracts:—

On the 16th of March, 1592-93, "MacGillechallum of Raarsay's" name appears among those of several other Chiefs, Lowland and Highland, in the Register of the Privy Council, on which occasion the King, with the advice of his Council, ordained letters to be issued to relax the persons named therein from the horn for any cause bygone, to receive them to the King's peace, "and gif them the wand thereof." In 1594-95 there is an entry, on the 6th of February denouncing Macleod of Raasay, and others for not appearing to answer a charge of reif. The complaint is at the instance of Alexander Bane of Tulloch, and it sets forth that "Upon 7th September last

Gillichallum Rasa, Laird of Rasa ; John MacGillichallum, his son ; Alexander Ley, Andro Ley, Angus Pyper, Hucheon MacInglas, Alexander McEan McRory, John McWilliamie Dow, with their accomplices, broken men and sorners, came to the complainers lands of Auchnaglerauch and reft and awaytuke furth thair of tuelff scoir ky, fyve hundreth sheep, tua hundreth gait, and tuentie horse and meiris ;” and that they had often before committed sundry acts of oppression and degradation upon him. The pursuer was represented by Duncan Bane, apparent heir of Tulloch and Mr. Ranald Bane, his heirs and procurators. The defenders did not appear, and were ordered to be denounced as rebels.

On the 25th of December, 1595, there is a complaint at the instance of Tulloch and Alexander Bane, Fiar of Loggie, against the Rev. John Mackenzie, minister of Urray, who, “forgetful of that calling and profession whereunto he is received, and of the good example which, by his good life and conversation, he should give to others,” has been guilty of many “insolencies and open and manifest oppressions” against the complainers, “as namely by reset and herding within his house of John MacGillichallum Rasa, a common and notorious thief, and limmer, and denounced rebel, for open and avowed theft in the month of May last,” and who had come to the said Mr. John’s house “upon set purpose and provision to lie derne and quiet there” till he might find the opportunity to murder Mr. Hucheon McConeill Bane and Duncan Bane, son of the said Alexander Bane, younger of Tulloch. After he had remained with the Rev. Mr. John the space of 48 hours, “upon sure knowledge had by the said Mr. John of his barbarous and wicked intention,” he had come out of the said house at night to the dwelling-place of the said Hucheon of set purpose to slay him, which he would have done if Hucheon, getting information of his intention, “had not convoyed himself and the said barne away.” Since that time the said Mr. John had come to the complainer’s lands of Urray, “cut

his ploughs and 'rigwiddeis,' and thereby, and by others the like open and manifest oppressions, has laid and holds the said lands waste." The Rev. Mr. John did not appear, and was denounced a rebel.

It would seem that a Mr. John "Irwing of Kynnock" became cautioner on the 29th December, 1595, for this Rev. John Mackenzie, of Urray, to the amount of 300 merks, that he would appear on the 3rd of February following to answer the complaint made against him by the Banes respecting "the reset" and protection of this John MacGillechallum, Raasay. The bond is deleted by warrant, subscribed by the King's hand, at Edinburgh on the 17th of January, 1595-96.\*

There is another complaint by the same parties in connection with this matter, on the 6th of February, 1595-96, from which it appears that John MacGillechallum, Raasay, had been put to the horn on the 7th of March, 1594, but, notwithstanding this, "he not only remains unreleased from the horn, but continues in his wicked and accustomed trade of reif, theft, sorning, and oppression, seeking all indirect and shameful means to wreck and destroy him (Bane of Tulloch) and his bairns. Thus, lately he sent to the complainer, desiring him to give over to him his old heritage called Torrtane [Torridon], with assurance, if he do not the same, to burn his whole corns and goods." In these insolencies he is "encouraged and set forward by the consort, reset, and supply which he receives of Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail and his friends, he being near kinsman to the said Kenneth, viz., his father's sister's son, who, in that respect, shows him all good offices of friendship and courtesy, indirectly assisting him with his men and moyan in all his enterprises against the said complainer and his bairns, without whose oversight and allowance, and protection it were not able to have a reset in any part of the country." The complainer, Bane of Tulloch, is then described as a decrepit aged man, past eighty years of age; and being blind for

\**Register of the Privy Council*, p. 316.

several years, "he mon meane himself to his Majestie for remeid." He is represented by Alexander Bane, Fiar of Loggie, and Mr. Ranald Bane. Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail appears personally, and the King and Council remit the matter before the judges competent to deal with it.

In 1597 a fierce feud broke out between the Mackenzies and the Munros. John MacGillechallum, a son of Ian na Tuaighe, brother of Alexander, Laird of Raasay, by his first wife, annoyed the people of Torridon, which place then belonged to the Baynes of Tulloch. He maintained that Tulloch, in whose house he was fostered, had promised him these lands as a gift of fosterage ; but Tulloch, whether he had made a previous promise to John MacGillechallum or not, left the lands of Torridon to his own second son, Alexander Mor MacDhonnchaidh Mhic Alastair, *alias* Bayne. Tulloch afterwards obtained a decree against MacGillechallum for interfering with his lands, and molesting the inhabitants, and, on a Candlemas market, he came with a large following of armed men, composed of most of the Baynes, and a large number of Munros, to the market stance, at that time held at Logie. John MacGillechallum, entirely ignorant of Tulloch having got "the laws against him," and in no fear of his life or liberty, came to that market as usual, and, while standing buying some articles at a chapman's stall, Alastair Mor, with some of his followers, came up behind him unperceived, and, without any warning, struck John MacGillechallum on the head with a two-edged sword—instantly killing him. A gentleman of the Clann Mhurchaidh Riabhaich Mackenzies, Ian Mac Mhurchaidh Mhic Uilleam, a very active and powerful man, was standing beside MacGillechallum when he fell, and he asked who dared to have spilt Mackenzie blood in that dastardly manner? He had no sooner said the words than he was run through the body with one of the swords of the enemy ; and thus, without any opportunity of drawing their weapons, fell two of the best swordsmen in the Highlands of Scotland.

The alarm and the news of their death immediately spread through the market. "Tulloch Ard," the war cry of the Mackenzies, was instantly raised ; whereupon the Baynes and the Munros took to their heels—the Munros eastward to the Ferry of Fowlis, and the Baynes northward to the hills, both followed by a band of the infuriated Mackenzies, who slaughtered every one they overtook. Iain Dubh MacChoinnich Mhic Mhurchaidh of the Clann Mhurchaidh Riabhach, and Ian Gallda Mac Fhionnla Dhuibh, two gentlemen of the Mackenzies, the latter a Kintail man, were on their way from Chanonry to the market, when they met in with a batch of the Munros flying in great confusion, and, learning the cause to be the murder of their friends at Logie market, the two instantly pursued the fugitives, killing no less than thirteen of them between Logie and the wood of Millechaich. All the townships in the neighbourhood of the market joined the Mackenzies in the pursuit, and Alastair Mor Bayne of Tulloch only saved himself, after all his men were killed, by taking shelter and hiding for a time in a kiln-logie.

Two of his followers, who escaped from the market people, met with some Lewismen on their way to the fair, who, noticing the Baynes flying half naked, immediately stopped them, insisting upon their giving a proper account of themselves. The reply proving unsatisfactory, the party came to high words, and from words to blows, when the Lewismen attacked and killed their opponents at Ach-an-eilich, near Contin.

The Baynes and the Munros had good cause to regret the conduct of their leaders that day at Logie market ; for they lost no less than fifty able-bodied men in return for the two whom they had so basely murdered at the fair.

When night came on, Alastair Mor Bayne escaped from the kiln, and proceeded to his uncle, Lord Lovat, who at once despatched James Fraser of Phopachy south with all speed, to prevent information from the other side reaching the King before Bayne had an opportunity of relating his version of the quarrel. His Majesty was at



the time at Falkland, and a messenger from Mackenzie of Kintail reached him before Alasstair Mor's arrival, pursuing for the slaughter of Mackenzie's kinsmen. Kintail secured the ear of the King, and would have been successful had not John Dubh Mac Choinnich Mhic Mhur-chaidh meanwhile taken the law into his own hands by burning, in revenge, all Bayne's corn-yard and barns at Lemlair, thus giving Tulloch an opportunity of presenting another and counter claim; but the matter was ultimately arranged by the King and Council obliging both mutually to subscribe a contract of agreement and peaceful behaviour towards each other in all time coming.\*

John Mac Gillechallum, *alias* Ian na Tuaighe, as we have already seen, first carried away Janet Mackenzie, daughter of John Mackenzie, IX. of Kintail, the first wife of Roderick Macleod, X. of the Lewis, and subsequently, after she had been divorced by her first husband, married her. By her Ian na Tuaigh had issue, several sons, and one daughter who married Alastair Roy, eldest son of Hector Cam, son of Hector Roy Mackenzie, first of the family of Gairloch, with issue. John married, secondly, a daughter of Allan MacRory of Gairloch and sister of Ruairi Nimhneach, by whom also he had issue—several sons.

In 1596 Malcolm has a charter on his own assignation under the Great Seal, dated 10th of July, in which he is described as "*Macgillicallum filio et hæredi Alister Vic-Gillicallum de Rasay, hæredibus masculis et assignatis quibuscunque, terrarum de Rasay, Ire. etc., in Inverness-shire.*" The lands are described as having been held formerly of the Bishop of the Isles, but now of the King by the Act of Annexation.

We find another charter mentioned in an "Inventory of writs and evidents delivered by Alexander MacGillichallum of Raasay to one noble Lord, Colin Earl of Seaforth, on the 27th of April, 1617." This charter is dated at Falkland, on the 20th of July, 1596, and is

\* Mackenzie's *History of the Mackenzies*, pp. 138-140.

granted by "James, by the Grace of God King of Scotland of most worthy memory, after his lawful and perfect age and general revocation made in Parliament and Act of Annexation of all kirk lands within this realm to the Crown thereof" by which he "gave and set in feu to the umquhile (late) Malcolm MacGillichallum father to the said Alexander his heirs and assignees heritably all and whole the lands of Raasay contained therein, the particular lands after subscribed" [then follows the names of the various townships in Raasay] "extending to eight merklands of old extent, and such like all and whole the lands of Ire in Troternish, Tottua, Carrabost, Wure, Sallader, and Vinsinort called in the infeftment Winsinsem, extending to three merk lands, and in the whole to eleven merk lands of old extent, with all and sundry the fortalices" etc. [in the usual form, but including in this case "the donation and right of patronage of the Kirks and Chaplainaries of all and sundry the Kirk lands of Kilmaluag in Raasay, and Snizort in Troternish, with all and sundry their parts, pendicles and pertinents, lying within the Bishoprick of the Isles and Sherifffdom of Inverness,"] "holden of our said Sovereign Lord and his successors in feu and heritage for a yearly payment of twenty-four merks of old duty and augmentation, use and wont, to be paid to the Bishop of the Isles, together with thirty shillings and four pennies of new augmentation, and the said umquhile Malcolm and his heirs attending and expecting upon his Majesty, his lieutenants, and successors whensoever they should happen to repair to the Isles in such sort as they were wont and 'astricket' to do to the Bishops of the Isles above specified, conform to their old infeftments granted by the said Bishops to them of the forenamed lands."

It will be remembered that, in 1572, Torquil Conanach, eldest son of Roderick Macleod, X. of the Lewis, received a charter of all his father's possessions, in terms of which, failing heirs male of Old Roderick, MacGillechallum Garbh of Raasay should succeed. Torquil Conanach having

made over all his rights to Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, it was probably found necessary for Macleod of Raasay to acknowledge Mackenzie's superiority over his lands. Malcolm Garbh was greatly indebted to the Mackenzies for having aided in reinstating him in the family estates after the massacre of Island Isay, and for maintaining him in possession against the Gairloch Macleods, until he was able to take care of himself. The fact that the Mackenzies were superiors of Raasay at this period, is corroborated by Thomas Knox, Bishop of the Isles, who, writing of the state and revenues of his diocese in 1626, says that "Rasa, belonging to the Abbot of Icolmikill, is possessit be the Erle of Seafort. He hes na tak nor acknowlegeis anie rent."\* This, it will be observed, was written in the time by Bishop Knox of Malcolm Garb's successor.

The Laird of Raasay, in 1608, signs himself "Gillicallum Mak Gillicallum off Rasay."

Towards the end of the sixteenth and during the first few years of the seventeenth century, Kenneth, first Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, acquired great power in the Western Isles, through the ability and influence of his brother, Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Coigeach, afterwards Tutor of Colin, first Earl of Seaforth. He acquired for the family of Kintail the superiority of Troternish, and the heritable stewardry of the Isle of Skye, with the superiority of Raasay and the neighbouring islands. Referring to this, Douglas says that "this Malcolm, in consequence of a transaction with Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, resigned his lands of Raasay, etc., in his favour, took them holden of him, and accordingly got a charter from the said Kenneth, then created Lord Kintail, dated anno, 1610."

In the Inventory of Raasay writs, dated 1617, already quoted, we have this charter mentioned as dated at Eilean-donain on the 21st August, 1610, and given by the umquhile Kenneth Lord of Kintail as superior of the lands underwritten to the said umquhile Malcolm MacGillechallum MacAllister of Raasay, of all and whole the forenamed lands of Raasay

\* *Demmylne MSS.* in the Advocates' Library.

containing the particular lands above-written and extending to eight merk lands of old extent and of the three merk lands in Troternish, with their towns, fortalices, teinds therewith included, mills, multures, woods, fishings, yards, orchards, house biggings, tenants, tenandries, and service of free tenants thereof, parts, pendicles, and pertinents of the same, as the said umquhile Malcolm possessed them, lying as is within written; holden of the said umquhile Lord Kenneth of Kintail and his successors Lords of Kintail, in feu and heritage for the yearly payment of twenty-six merks, three shillings, four pennies, for old ferme and augmentation used of before to be paid to the Bishops of the Isles, and the said umquhile Malcolm attending and expected upon his said superior and his lieutenants when they shall happen to repair to the Isles, with one birlinn of twelve oars, and likewise compearing and answering in whatever the said superior's weighty affairs with the Isles when they shall be required thereto in time coming; and suchlike ye are doubling the silver duty at his entries; with this irritant clause that, if lawful payment be not made of the yearly duty so that three yearly duties run in one unpaid, the infestment to be null." An instrument of sasine, of the lands above-named, dated the 4th of November in the same year follows.

In this year (1610) a severe skirmish was fought at Lochan-an-fheidh, above Glen Torridon, between the Mackenzies of Gairloch—led by Alastair Breac, eldest surviving son and apparent heir of John Roy—and the Macleods, under John Mac Allan Mhic Rory, then the only surviving direct male representative of Allan Macleod of Gairloch, and grandson, probably, of Rory Nimhneach. John Tolmach MacRuairidh, John's uncle, was also present, but he managed to effect his escape. John Mac Allan and seventeen or eighteen of his followers were taken prisoners. Many more were killed; and the few who escaped alive along with John Tolmach, were pursued out of the district. The slain were buried where they fell, and the graves can still be seen, the nettles which

continue to grow over them at the present day indicating the position of the last resting place, on the field of battle, of these Macleod warriors on the west side of the Sgura-Dubh, above Glen Torridon, a little beyond the Gairloch march.

Shortly after this skirmish another attempt was made by the Macleods to regain the lands of Gairloch, the history of which is still a prominent and interesting feature in the local traditions of the parish. The affair is called "Latha Leac-na-Saighead." Mr. John H. Dixon gives a capital version of it, as related to him by Roderick Mackenzie, locally known as Ruairidh 'n Torra—an intelligent old man of about ninety years of age, still alive—in his interesting book on the history and traditions of the parish of Gairloch. According to Roderick's version, as given by Mr. Dixon, many of the Macleods, after they had been driven from Gairloch, settled in Skye. A considerable number of the younger men were invited by their Chief to pass Hogmanay night in the Castle at Dunvegan. In the kitchen there was an old woman, known as Mor Bhàn, who was usually occupied in carding wool, and who was supposed to be a witch. After dinner the men began to drink, and when they had passed some time in this occupation, they sent to the kitchen for Mor Bhàn. She at once joined them in the hall, and having drank one or two glasses along with them, she remarked that it was a very poor thing for the Macleods to be deprived of their own lands in Gairloch, and to have to live in comparative poverty in Raasay and the Isles of Skye. "But," says she, addressing them, "prepare yourselves and start to-morrow for Gairloch, sail in the black birlinn, and you shall regain Gairloch. I shall be a witness of your success when you return."

The men trusted her, believing she had the power of divination. In the morning they set sail for Gairloch—the black galley was full of the Macleods. It was evening when they entered the loch. They were afraid to land on the mainland, for they remembered that the descendants

of Domhnall Greannach (a celebrated Macrae) were still there, and they knew the prowess of these men only too well. The Macleods therefore turned to the south side of the loch, and fastened their birlinn to the Fraoch Eilean, in the well-sheltered bay opposite Leac-nan-Saigh-ead, between Shielraig and Badachro. Here they decided to wait until morning, then disembark, and walk round the head of the loch.

But all the movements of the Macleods had been well watched. Domhnall Odhar Mac Iain Leith and his brother Ian, the celebrated Macrae archers, recognised the birlinn of the Macleods, and determined to oppose their landing. They walked round the head of the loch by Shielraig and posted themselves before daylight at the back of the Leac, a projecting rock overlooking the Fraoch Eilean. The steps on which they stood at the back of the rock are still pointed out. Donald Odhar, being of small stature, took the higher of the two steps, and Iain took the other. Standing on these they crouched down behind the rock, completely sheltered from the enemy, but commanding a full view of the island, while they were quite invisible to the Macleods who lay down on the island. As soon as the day dawned the two Macraes directed their weapons on the Macleods, of whom a number were killed before their comrades were even aware of the direction from which the fatal messengers of death came. The Macleods endeavoured to answer their arrows, but not being able to see the foe, their efforts were of no effect. In the heat of the fight one of the Macleods climbed the mast of the birlinn to discover the position of the enemy. Ian Odhar observing him, took deadly aim at him when near the top of the mast. "Oh," says Donald to his brother John, "you have sent a pin through his broth." The slaughter continued, and the remnant of the Macleods hurried aboard their birlinn. Cutting the rope, they turned her head seawards. By this time only two of them were left alive. In their hurry to escape they left all the bodies of their slain companions unburied on the island.



A rumour of the arrival of the Macleods had spread through the district during the night, and other warriors, such as Fionnla Dubh na Saighead, and Fear Shildaig, were soon at the scene of action, but all they had to do on their arrival was to assist in the burial of the dead Macleods. Pits were dug, into each of which a number of the dead bodies were thrown, and mounds were raised over them which remain to this day, as any one may see.\*

In 1611, Murdoch Mackenzie, second surviving son of John Roy Mackenzie, IV. of Gairloch, accompanied by Alexander Bayne, heir apparent of Tulloch, and several brave men from Gairloch, sailed to the Isle of Skye in a vessel loaded with wine and provisions. It is said by some that Murdoch's intention was to apprehend John Tolmach, while others maintain that his object was to secure in marriage the daughter and heir of line of Donald Dubh MacRory. This latter theory is far the most probable, and it is the unbroken tradition in Gairloch. John Macleod was a prisoner in Gairloch, was unmarried, and likely to be secured where he was, in the event of this marriage taking place. By such a union, failing issue by John, then in the power of John Roy, the ancient rights of the Macleods would revert to the Gairloch family, and a troublesome dispute would be for ever settled, if John Tolmach were at the same time captured or put to death.

It may easily be conceived how both objects would become combined ; but whatever was the real object of the trip to Skye, it proved disastrous. The ship found its way—intentionally on the part of the crew, or forced by a great storm—to the sheltered bay of Kirkton of Raasay, opposite the present mansion house, where young MacGillechallum at the time resided. Anchor was cast ; and young Raasay, hearing that Murdoch Mackenzie was on board, discussed the situation with his friend, MacGillechallum Mòr MacDhomhnuill Mhic Neill, who persuaded

\* *Gairloch, its Records, Traditions, and Natural History*: By John H. Dixon, F.S.A., Scot., 1886.

him to visit the ship as a friend, and secure Mackenzie's person by stratagem, with the view of getting him afterwards exchanged for his own relative, John MacAllan Mhic Rory, then a prisoner in Gairloch. Acting on this advice, young Raasay, with Gillechallum Mòr and twelve of their men, started for the ship, leaving word with his bastard brother, Murdoch, to get all the men he could ready to go to their assistance in small boats as soon as the alarm was given.

Mackenzie received his visitors in the most hospitable and unsuspecting manner, supplying them with as much wine and other viands as they could consume. Four of his men, however, feeling somewhat suspicious, and fearing the worst, abstained from drink. Alexander Bayne of Tulloch, and the remainder of Murdoch's men partook of the good cheer to excess, and ultimately became so drunk that they all had to retire below deck. Mackenzie, who sat between Raasay and MacGillechallum Mor, had not the slightest suspicion ; but Macleod, seeing Murdoch alone, started up, turned suddenly round, and told the latter that he must become his prisoner. Mackenzie instantly started to his feet, in a violent passion, laid hold of Raasay by the waist, and threw him down, exclaiming, "I would scorn to be your prisoner." One of Raasay's followers, seeing his young Chief treated thus, stabbed Murdoch with his dirk through the body. Mackenzie, finding himself wounded, stepped back to draw his sword, and, his foot coming against some obstruction, he stumbled over it and fell into the sea.

Those on shore observing the row, came out in their small boats, and seeing Mackenzie, who was a dexterous swimmer, manfully making for Sconsar, on the opposite shore, in Skye, they pelted him with stones, smashed in his brains and drowned him. The few of his men who kept sober, seeing their leader thus perish, resolved to sell their lives dearly ; and fighting like heroes, they killed the young laird of Raasay, along with MacGillichallum Mòr, author of all the mischief, and his two sons. Young

Bayne of Tulloch and his six inebriated companions, who had followed him below, hearing the uproar overhead, attempted to come on deck, but they were all killed by the Macleods as each of them presented themselves through the hold. Not a soul of the Raasay men escaped alive from the swords of the four who had kept sober, and who were ably supported by the ship's crew.

The small boats now began to gather round the vessel and the Raasay men attempted to get on board; but they were thrown back, slain, and pitched into the sea without mercy. The shot and amunition having become exhausted, all the pots and pans, and other articles of furniture on board, were hurled at the Macleods, while the four abstainers plied their warlike weapons with deadly effect. Having procured a lull from the attempts of the enemy, they began to pull in their anchor, when a shot from one of the boats killed one of them—Hector MacKenneth, “a pretty young gentleman.” The other three seeing him slain, and being themselves more or less seriously wounded, cut their cable, hoisted sail, and proceeded before a fresh breeze, with all the dead bodies still lying about the deck. As soon as they got out of danger, they threw the bodies of young Raasay and his men into the sea, that they might receive the same interment which their own leader had received, and whose body they were not able to search for.

It is said that none of the bodies were ever found, except that of MacGillechallum Mòr, which afterwards came ashore, and was buried in Raasay. The Gairloch men carried the bodies of Bayne of Tulloch and his companions to Lochcarron, where they were decently buried.

The only three survivors of the fight were John MacEachainn Chaoil, John MacKenneth Mhic Eachainn, and Kenneth MacSheumais. The first named lived for thirty years after, dying in 1641; the second died in 1662; and the third in 1663—all very old men. Amongst the slain was a son of Mackenzie of Badachro, a cadet of the House

of Gairloch, who is said to have signally distinguished himself.\* The conduct of the Mackenzies of Gairloch was such on this and previous occasions that they deemed it prudent to obtain a remission from the Crown, which was duly granted them in 1614, by James VI.†

Douglas says that "this Malcolm was a man of parts and spirit, but finding the family of Lewis, of whom he was descended, upon the decline, he thought proper to cultivate a friendship with his nearest and most powerful neighbour; he therefore entered into a bond of manrent and friendship, offensive and defensive, with Donald Macdonald of Slate, etc., etc., which hath continued inviolate to this day."‡ He appears to have been alive in August, 1611, when his eldest son and heir, Gillecillum Og, was killed by the Mackenzies of Gairloch opposite his house, in the Bay of Clachan, but he must have been frail and unable to lead his men in person, and he is believed to have died before the end of that year.

Malcolm Garbh was married, with issue—

1. Malcolm, or Gillecillum Og, who died before his father, without issue—killed by the Mackenzies of Gairloch in a sea fight at Raasay, in August, 1611.

2. Alexander, who succeeded his father.

He had also an illegitimate son, Murdoch, prominent in the fight in which his eldest brother, Malcolm, was killed.

On the 21st of March, 1596-97, there is an entry in the Register of the Privy Council to the effect that Roderick Mor Macleod of Dunvegan appeared, and became bound in 10,000 (? merks), "be the faith and treuth of his body," to acknowledge his Highness as his only Sovereign Lord, to make his men obey the King's lieutenants "in repressing of the insolence" of the inhabitants of the

\* *Allangrange, Ardintoul, and Letterfearn MSS.*, and Sir Robert Gordon's *Earldom of Sutherland*.

† For this document in full see pp. 321-2—Mackenzie's *History and Genealogies of the Mackenzies*.

‡ *Baronage of Scotland*, p. 386.

Isles and Highlands; also that Donald Macleud, son of Johnne Macleud of Rosok (? Raasay), appointed to remain in Edinburgh as pledge for the obedience of Rory Mor, shall remain there till the return of and entry of the said Roderick upon the 30th of November following. The Clerk of Council subscribed this obligation on Rory Mor's behalf.

Malcolm Garbh MacGillechallum, on his death, in 1611, was succeeded by his second and eldest surviving son,

#### IV. ALEXANDER MACLEOD

Of Raasay, then apparently a minor; for he was not served heir to his father until the 18th of February, 1617. It is certain that he succeeded to the Chiefship in 1611, from a letter of King James, dated at Whitehall, on the 5th of November in that year, whereby his Majesty granted to Andrew, Bishop of the Isles, "all and whatsoever sums of money shall be found resting and owing to his Majesty by Donald Gorm of Sleat, Rory Macleod of Harris, Lachlan Mackinnon of Strathardle, Alexander MacGillechallum of Raasay," and several other Highland Chiefs named in the document, for any taxes due to the King by these Chiefs or their predecessors, prior to the 1st of July, 1606.

In 1626 Thomas Knox, Bishop of the Isles, makes a report of his diocese, its lands, incumbents, ministers, and rents. Having described the Isle of Skye, he proceeds:—"Near this country lies the Island of Scalpa, and to the north of Scalpa lieth Rasa, belonging to the Abbot of Icolmkill; it is possessed by the Earl of Seaforth. He has no tack nor acknowledges any rent" for it. According to the Laird of Applecross' manuscript History of the Mackenzies, Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Coigeach, Tutor to Colin, first Earl of Seaforth, employed himself in settling his pupil's estate, "which he did to that advantage that ere his minority passed he freed his estate, leaving him master of an opulent fortune and of great superiorities, for he acquired the superiority of Troternish, with the

heritable Stewartry of the Isle of Skye, the superiority of Raasay," and several other islands.\*

On the 19th of September, 1628, Macleod entered into an agreement, at the Castle of Duntulm, with Colin Earl of Seaforth, Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, John Macleod of Dunvegan, John Macranald of Islandtirrim, and Sir Lachlan Mackinnon of Strath, for the preservation of deer and roe on their respective properties, and the punishment of trespassers in pursuit of game on any part of their estates. This curious and interesting document is given in full at pp. 93-96.† In the body of it Macleod is described as "Alexander MacGillechallum of Rasa."

By an instrument of sasine, dated 15th and 16th April, 1631, it appears that Alexander Maclean "of Davachgarrioch" had been served and retoured heir "to the deceased Donald Maclean, son of Ferquhard, son of Hector, his father," in the lands of Raasay, which are detailed as extending to eight merks, and also in the lands of Eyre in Troternish, Tueche (? Tote), Carboist and Uigishader, extending to three merks; all held of the superior for a payment of twenty-four merks Scots per annum. The Instrument proceeded upon a precept of sasine from John, Bishop of Sodor or the Isles, and perpetual Commendator of the monastery of St. Columba, in Iona, superior of the lands above mentioned, with consent of the Archdean and other canons of the diocese; which precept set forth "that the late Donald Maclean, son of Ferquhard, son of Hector, father of our beloved Alexander Maclean, bearer of these presents, died last vest as of fee" in the said lands; and that the said Alexander Maclean was the nearest lawful heir of his father Donald. Among the witnesses to the giving of sasine is "John MacGillichallum in Raasay."‡

\* Mackenzie's *History of the Mackenzies*, pp. 168-69.

† The Contract is recorded in the *General Register of Deeds*, Vol. 408, on the 3rd of November, 1628.

‡ *Particular Register of Sasines for the County of Inverness*, Vol. IV., p. 302.



Alexander married a daughter of John Macleod, II. of Drynoch, with issue—

1. Alexander, his heir and successor.
2. John, whose son, Alexander, ultimately succeeded to the Chiefship, and carried on the representation of the family.

She married, secondly, Thomas Graham of Drynie, and thirdly, Alexander Mackenzie, VI. of Hilton.

He died before 1643, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

#### V. ALEXANDER MACLEOD,

Served heir to his father, and described as “Alexander MacGillechallum Mhic Gillechallum,” on the 20th of August, 1643. The rental of Raasay, as entered in the valuation roll of the county of Inverness in 1644, was £666 13s. 4d., Scots.

Alexander married Sibella, eldest daughter of Roderick Mackenzie, I. of Applecross, by his wife, Florence, daughter of Murdoch Mackenzie, II. of Redcastle, with issue—

1. John Garbh, his heir and successor.
2. Janet, who married Duncan Macrae of Inverinate, with issue.
3. Giles, who died unmarried.

These two ladies, on the death of their brother John Garbh, without issue, in 1688, were served heirs of line, conquest, and provision to their father.

Alexander died before 1648, and was succeeded by his only son,

#### VI. JOHN GARBH MACLEOD,

Who was served heir to his father on the 22nd of September, 1648. This Chief was distinguished for his great strength. He was universally admitted to be the most powerful and best built Highlander of his day; and the gallantry of his personal exploits was a household word among his contemporaries. He met his death at the early age of twenty-one, while returning from the

Lewis, where he had been on a visit to his relative, George, second Earl of Seaforth. The vessel in which he was on his way home went down in a great storm on the north coast of Skye, when John Garbh and all on board perished. He was very highly esteemed, and his untimely fate was deeply mourned, not only by his young wife and family connexions, but by all who knew him. The famous Skye poetess, *Mairi Nighean Alastair Ruaidh*, composed a touching lament to his memory, which is given at length in Mackenzie's *Beauties of Gaelic Poetry*. His sister also composed an elegy of considerable merit, in which his praises and personal prowess are set forth. The celebrated Patrick Mor MacCrimmon, Macleod of Dunvegan's family piper, commemorated the sad event by composing the famous *Piobaireachd*, "John Garbh Macleod of Raasay's Lament," one of the most pathetic and greatest favourites among crack pipers to the present day.

He married, shortly before his death, Janet, fourth daughter of Sir Roderick Mor Macleod, XIII. of Dunvegan, and, dying without issue, the male representation of the family devolved upon his cousin-german,

## VII. ALEXANDER MACLEOD,

Son of John, second son of Alexander, fourth, and brother of Alexander, fifth Chief of the family. He seems to have been quite young when he succeeded, and for a time the estates did not follow the Chiefship. "In 1688 Janet and Giles Macleods, *alias* McAlaster Vic Gillechallum were served heirs of line, conquest, and provision to their father, Alexander McLeod *alias* McAlaster Vic Gillechallum of Raasay, who was the son and heir of the deceased Alexander McLeod, *alias* McGillechallum, the grandfather of the said Janet and Giles McLeods *alias* McAlaster Vic Gillechallum, who was the son and heir of Malcolm McLeod *alias* McGillicallum of Rasay, the great-grandfather of the said Janet and Giles McLeods, *alias* McAlaster Vic Gillicallum of Rasay, in the lands of Rasay, including the

towns, lands, islands, lie grazings of Kilmaluack, Ausach, Balliechurne, Balliemeanoch, Inveruig, Glam, Moines, Brochill, with the pertinents of Sciepadeall, Hallag, Leaghk, Kamiorick, Lieboast, Slagandine, Slachro, Fearne, Stair, Ire, Shuashnesmore, Shuasnesbeg, Inneraross, Bora-dell, Glen, and Kylehan, and the two islands commonly called Rona and Fladda."\*

On the 25th of September, 1663, Robert, Bishop of the Isles, to whose Bishopric was now attached the Abbey of Icolmkill and the Priory of Ardchattan, granted with consent of some of the Chapter a nineteen years' lease of the Bishop's third of the teind sheaves of Raasay.

Alexander obtained a resignation of the whole estate from his cousins, Janet and Giles, the heirs of line, and secured a charter of the lands of Raasay in his own favour, dated the 19th of August, 1692, whereupon he was duly infeft in all the family estates.

He married Catherine, third daughter of Sir Norman Macleod, first of Bernera (third son of Sir Roderick Mor Macleod of Dunvegan) by his second wife, Catherine, eldest daughter of Sir James Macdonald, second baronet of Sleat, with issue—

1. Malcolm, his heir and successor.

2. John, who was father of Captain Malcolm Macleod, who joined his uncle, Malcolm, VIII. of Raasay, for Prince Charles in 1745, and of Norman Macleod of Rigg.

His widow married, secondly, Angus Macdonald of Scotus, brother of the celebrated warrior, Alastair Dubh, XI. of Glengarry, whose direct male representatives died out in 1868, when the descendant of Alexander Macleod of Raasay's widow, by her second marriage, became Chief of Glengarry.

Alexander was succeeded by his eldest son,

#### VIII. MALCOLM MACLEOD,

Eighth of Raasay. Though the Chief of Dunvegan finally resolved not to join Prince Charles in 1745, this

\* *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, Vol. II., Part I., p. 348.

Malcolm accompanied by his second son, Dr. Murdoch Macleod of Eyre, and Captain Malcolm Macleod, his nephew, joined the Prince at the head of a hundred of the Macleods of Raasay. Like many other Highland proprietors of that stirring period, Malcolm kept his eldest son out of the Rising, and before he joined the Prince himself he took the precaution to convey the estate to John, his heir and successor, so that, whatever might happen, the property should be safe. In the Account of Charge and Discharge by Mr. Murray of Broughton, published in an appendix to Chambers' *History of the Rebellion* of 1745-6, there is an entry of £20, which had been forwarded to Macleod of Raasay, and another sum of £40, "sent from the wood on the side of Locharkik, by Macleod of Bernera to Macleod of Raza, upon receipt of a letter from him complaining that the former was too small." It would appear, from a note appended to this account, that the complaint was somewhat pointed, for Macleod "wrote with a little too much warmth." So warm was his protest that Mr. Alexander Macleod, younger of Neuck, afterwards of Muiravonside, made an apology to Mr. Murray on Raasay's behalf "and begged that it might not prevent from sending a [second] supply." After the battle of Culloden, old Malcolm found his way back in safety to Raasay, where for a time he continued in hiding. The Government search was, however, getting so close, and the danger of capture by the enemy so much greater every day, that he determined upon removing for better security to a more inaccessible place on the mainland. For this purpose he escaped to the wilds of Knoydart, the property of his friend, John Macdonell of Glengarry, whose second son, Angus, was "out," though he remained at home himself, on the same principle upon which Raasay kept his own eldest son out of personal participation in the struggle—to protect the estate.

Malcolm married Mary, daughter of Alexander Mackenzie, III. of Applecross, by his first wife, Anne, daughter of Alexander Fraser, Tutor of Lovat, by his wife, Sibella,

daughter of Kenneth, first Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, and widow of John Macleod, XIV. of Harris and Dunvegan. By this lady Raasay had issue—

1. John, his heir and successor.

2. Dr. Murdoch Macleod of Eyre, who married Anne, daughter of Alexander Macdonald of Boisdale, by his wife, Margaret, daughter of John Macdonald, II. of Castleton, with issue—(1) Captain Malcolm Macleod of Eyre, so well known in connection with the 'Forty-five and the wanderings of Prince Charles in the Western Isles. He died unmarried. (2) John Macleod, who married his cousin, Catherine, daughter of John Macleod, IX. of Raasay, without issue; (3) Norman Macleod, who died unmarried; (4) Anne, who died unmarried; and (5) Margaret, who married Kenneth Macleod, with issue—Murdoch, Norman, Donald, Anne, who married Mr. Shaw, with issue; and Christian, Lexy, Margaret, Flora, and Anne.

3. Norman, an officer in the service of the States General. He met Dr. Johnson at Eyre, in Dr. Macleod's house, in 1773. He died unmarried.

4. Janet, who married, first, John Macleod, of the old Macleods of Lewis, with issue—John Macleod of Colbecks, with issue. She married, secondly, in 1743, as his second wife, John Mackinnon of Mackinnon, attainted in 1745, with issue—Charles, who, born in 1753, afterwards became Chief of Mackinnon; Lauchlan, who died unmarried in Jamaica; and a daughter Margaret.

Malcolm formed an irregular union with Janet Macleod, a crofter tenant's daughter on the island, by whom he had issue—

5. Alexander Macleod, who married Elizabeth Macdonald, with issue—(1) Malcolm, who married Miss Macdonald, with issue—a son, who died young; (2) Charles Roderick, who married Elizabeth Vanreney, with issue, among others, Sarah, who married Henry Mackenzie; (3) James, who married Catherine Vanreney, with issue—Francis, Harry, Alexander, George, Malcolm, Ed-

ward, Adriana, Jessie, Catherine, and Flora; (4) Alexander; (5) John; (6) Elizabeth, who married a Mr. MacHardy, with issue—Malcolm and others; (7) Christiana, who married Brian Hodgson, with issue—Isabella, who married Mr. Gowan; (8) Jessie, who married Mr. Alexander, with issue; and (9) Mary Anne, who married Mr. Cuthbert.

6. The Rev. Malcolm Macleod, minister of Snizort. He died in 1832, having married Mary Macleod, daughter of Donald Macleod, tacksman of Swordale, Isle of Skye, and ancestor of the Macleods of Morvern, with issue—(1) Malcolm, who entered the military service, and died at an early age in the West Indies. (2) John, a Captain in the army. He served in the 27th Regiment of Foot (Lord Loudon's) and was afterwards a Police Magistrate in Ireland, where he died, at Garradice, on the 29th of January, 1845. He married Anne Nyinsi, with issue—several daughters. (3) Christian, who died unmarried. (4) Donald, an officer in the Navy, who perished at sea. (5) Charles, who was bred to the medical profession, and entered the H.E.I.C.S. He had a sunstroke in India, which incapacitated him from duty, when he returned home, and died unmarried, a few years after, at Snizort, Isle of Skye. (6) The Rev. Roderick Macleod. He was born in 1794, and was presented to the parish of Bracadale in 1823 by Macleod of Macleod. Here he ministered for fifteen years. In 1838 he was appointed by the Crown to the parish of Snizort, in succession to the Rev. Simon MacIachlan, who had previously succeeded Macleod's father, and had now been translated to Cawdor. The Rev. Mr. Roderick was elected Moderator of the Free Church General Assembly in 1863, and he died in 1867. He married Anne Robertson Macdonald, daughter of Donald Macdonald of Skaebost, then residing at Kingsburgh House, Isle of Skye, with issue—Donald, Malcolm, Lillingston, Roderick, James John, John, Mary, Margaret, Anne, Susan, Christina, Jessie, and another. The Rev. Mr. Roderick's wife predeceased her husband by ten years, having died at the Free Manse of Snizort in 1857.



(7) Anne, who married M. Cordonniere, a Frenchman. He went to Russia in the character of a teacher, and became the head of a famous Academy, which was attended by the sons of the nobility, and conducted by him with a high reputation for many years, at Odessa, where his widow, Anne Macleod, survived him and continued to live, highly respected in Russian society. (8) Isabella, who married the Rev. John Finlayson, Free Church minister of Bracadale. (9 and 10), two other daughters, who died young.

7. Roderick, who died unmarried.

8. Charles, who died unmarried.

9. Margaret; and 10. Janet, who died unmarried.

Malcolm was succeeded by his eldest son,

## IX. JOHN MACLEOD

Of Raasay, who acquired his greatest distinction for his entertainment of Dr. Johnson, during the famous tour to the Western Isles in 1773. It will be remembered that his father, Malcolm, joined Prince Charles in 1745 with a hundred of his followers (all of whom except fourteen returned to Raasay), leaving John at home, after having conveyed the estates to him, so that whatever might be the result of the Rising the property might remain in possession of the family. John was, however, a thorough Jacobite at heart, and he afterwards took an active part in securing the escape of the Prince, whom he entertained in Raasay after his father, Malcolm, had left the island and gone to Knoydart, then belonging to Alexander Macdonald of Glengarry, whose brother, Angus of Scotus, Catherine of Bernera, Malcolm's mother, married as her second husband. Prince Charles, after leaving Kingsburgh, accompanied by Captain Roy Macdonald, met "Rona,"—young Macleod's designation during his father's life time—at Portree. John at once volunteered to conduct the Prince to Raasay, where he would have him concealed, while he sent a messenger to his father, whom, he said, he was quite sure would be glad to run any risk, and

would welcome any opportunity to serve His Royal Highness in his distress. Murdoch Macleod, who was at the time residing with his sister at Totterome, was communicated with. He entered with alacrity into his brother's proposals to get the Prince across to Raasay, declaring that he would once more risk his life to serve him. A small boat was soon got ready, and rowed by the two brothers across to the island, where they found their cousin, Malcolm, who had been out with them in the recent Rising. Malcolm strongly urged upon young Raasay to keep clear of the Prince, as he had done hitherto, and that he and Murdoch, both of whom had already publicly drawn the sword in the Jacobite cause, should take charge of the Royal fugitive and secure his escape. John, however, insisted upon rendering all the assistance in his power, should it, he said, even cost him his head.

The party then re-crossed, and landing about half a mile from Portree, Malcolm and another went in search of the Prince, and soon found him. Captain Roy Macdonald, who was along with him, introduced Malcolm as one who had served and held the rank of Captain in the Jacobite army. Proceeding to the boat, John and his brother Murdoch were introduced, whereupon His Royal Highness would not permit the usual ceremonies of respect, but saluted them as his equals. They soon re-crossed the channel between Skye and Raasay, and landed at a place called Glam, opposite the village of Portree. They led the Prince to a shepherd's hut, where he was regaled on roast kid, butter, cream, and oat cake, after which he slept soundly on a bed of heather specially prepared for him in old Highland fashion—the stalks being placed upright with the bloom uppermost.

The party remained here for two days and a half, during which time two men were always kept on the watch, while John, Murdoch, and Malcolm made matters as pleasant for the Royal fugitive as it was possible for them in the circumstances to do. The party again crossed, on

the third day, to Skye, where young Raasay and his brother parted with Charles. Murdoch, who was still suffering from a wound by a musket ball, which had passed under the skin from one shoulder to the other at Culloden, did not proceed any further with the Prince, but his cousin, Malcolm, accompanied His Royal Highness to Strath, disguised on the route as Macleod's servant. From Strath, where he parted with Captain Malcolm, the Prince crossed to Knoydart, and there we, for the present, part with him, his after history being too well known to need recapitulation here. A few days after parting company with His Royal Highness, Malcolm was apprehended in Raasay, taken to Portree and conveyed to Applecross, where he was placed on board the "Furnace" sloop of war. He was ultimately, on the 1st of November, 1746, conveyed to London, where he was detained, along with Donald Macleod of Gualtrigill, in the custody of William Dick, a messenger, until July, 1747. He was in the end able to show that he had surrendered, with his men, in terms of the Duke of Cumberland's proclamation after the battle of Culloden, and he was then permitted to return home, in the same post-chaise as Flora Macdonald and Neil MacEachainn.

On the death of his father, John Macleod succeeded to the estates and became head of his house. In 1773, during the famous tour to the Hebrides, Raasay was visited by Dr. Johnson and his friend Boswell. Leaving Mackinnon's house at Corriechatachan, they were met by the Rev. Donald Macqueen, minister of Kilmuir, and our old friend Captain Malcolm Macleod, with "Mac-Gillechallum's carriage"—a good, strong Norwegian-built open boat, manned by four stout rowers, who soon landed them in Raasay. Boswell describes Malcolm as, "now sixty-two years of age, hale and well proportioned—with a manly countenance, tanned by the weather, yet having a ruddiness in his cheeks, over a great part of which his beard extended. His eye was quick and lively, yet his look was not fierce, but he appeared at once firm

and good humoured. He wore a pair of brogues; tartan hose which came up nearly to his knees and left them bare; a purple camblet kilt; a black waistcoat; a short green cloth coat bound with gold cord; a yellowish bushy wig; a large blue bonnet with a gold thread button. I never," he continues, "saw a figure that gave a more perfect representation of a Highland gentleman. I wished much to have a picture of him just as he was. I found him frank and polite, in the true sense of the word." To this excellent pen picture, Boswell adds that while he and Dr. Johnson rode to the boat Malcolm walked with graceful agility. On the journey several Gaelic songs were sung, Malcolm singing "*Tha tighinn fodham eirigh*," the Rev. Mr. Macqueen and the whole crew joining in the chorus. The boatmen also sang with great spirit, and, when they landed, the singing of the rowers was taken up by the reapers on shore, who were working with a bounding activity. Dr. Johnson was struck with the beauty of the Bay, by the appearance "of a good family mansion," which was built soon after 1746, and by its surroundings. They were met, as they walked up to the house, by Raasay himself, his brother Dr. Murdoch Macleod, Norman (afterwards General) Macleod of Macleod, Colonel Macleod of Talisker, Alexander Macleod of Muiravonside, and several other persons of quality.

Boswell, describing the reception, says—"We were welcomed upon the green, and conducted into the house, where we were introduced to Lady Raasay, who was surrounded by a numerous family, consisting of three sons and ten daughters. The Laird of Raasay is a sensible, polite, and most hospitable gentleman. I was told that his Island of Raasay, and that of Rona (from which the eldest son of the family has his title), and a considerable extent of land which he has in Skye, do not altogether yield him a very large revenue; and yet he lives in great splendour; and so far is he from distressing his people, that in the present rage for emigration, not a man has left his estate." Immediately on their arrival, Johnson,

his friend, and the company were served with brandy, "according to the custom of the Highlands, where a dram is generally taken every day." They were then provided with a substantial dinner and a variety of wines, finishing up with tea and coffee. A ball followed, at which Raasay danced with great spirit, and Malcolm bounded like a roe; while Macleod of Muiravonside exhibited an excessive flow of spirits. The Doctor was delighted with the whole scene. Thirty-six persons sat down to supper, at which "all was good humour and gaiety, without intemperance." Boswell describes Raasay as having the true spirit of a Chief, and as being, without exaggeration, a father to his people.

Raasay's eldest daughter, who married Colonel Muir Campbell, afterwards Earl of Loudon, Boswell describes as "the queen of our ball," and as "an elegant, well-bred woman, celebrated for her beauty over all those regions by the name of Miss Flory Raasay."

The island, at the time of Dr. Johnson's visit, had abundance of black cattle, and a good many horses which were used for ploughing and other works of husbandry. There were no roads; most of the houses were on the shore; the people had small boats and caught fish, and there were plenty of potatoes. Blackcock were in "extraordinary abundance," as also grouse, plover, and wild pigeons. There were no hares or rabbits. "It is a place where one may live in plenty, and even luxury. There are no deer;" but Macleod was to import some.

A curious arrangement existed between the Macleods of Raasay and the Macdonalds of Sleat for generations, by which, when the head of either house died, his sword went to the head of the other family. John Macleod of Raasay had the sword which belonged to Sir James Macdonald when Dr. Johnson was in the island. The two families were always on the most friendly terms.

John Macleod of Raasay was appointed by the Court of Session, tutor-dative to his nephews, Charles and Lachlan Mackinnon, and succeeded in securing the resti-

tution of Mishnish in Mull and Strathaird in Skye from the heir of provision, for young Charles, eldest son and heir of John Mackinnon, attainted for his share in the Rising of 1715 and 1745. Strath had been sold privately by Mackinnon of Mishnish to Sir James Macdonald in 1715. Raasay attempted to get this sale set aside, but failed; and the principal estate of Mackinnon went out of the family. The inventory taken by Macleod, on assuming his tutory, is dated 1757.

The great Dr. Johnson himself, with all his philosophy, was completely carried away by the generous and elegant hospitality which he experienced at Raasay House, and he describes it in the following glowing terms:—

Our reception exceeded our expectation. We found nothing but civility, elegance, and plenty. After the usual refreshments, and the usual conversation, the evening came upon us. The carpet was then rolled off the floor, the musician was called in, and the whole company was invited to dance; nor did ever fairies trip it with greater alacrity. The general air of festivity which predominated in this place, so far remote from all those regions which the mind has been used to contemplate as the mansions of pleasure, struck the imagination with a delightful surprise, analogous to that which is felt at an unexpected emersion from darkness into light. When it was time to sup, the dance ceased, and six-and-thirty persons sat down to two tables in the same room. After supper the ladies sung Erse [Gaelic] songs, to which I listened as an English audience to an Italian opera, delighted with the sound of words which I did not understand. The family of Raasay consists of the laird, the lady, three sons, and ten daughters. More gentleness of manners, or a more pleasing appearance of domestic society, is not found in the most polished countries."

The following correspondence, which passed between Raasay, Boswell, and Dr. Johnson, on the rival claims of the two leading families of the Macleods to the Chiefship of the Clan, will be found interesting. The letters require no remarks to explain them. Raasay writes to Boswell—

To James Boswell, Esq.

Rasay, April 10th, 1775.

Dear Sir,—I take this occasion of returning you my most hearty thanks for



the civilities shown to my daughter by you and Mrs. Boswell. Yet, though she has informed me that I am under this obligation, I should very probably have deferred troubling you with making my acknowledgments at present if I had not seen Dr. Johnson's "Journey to the Western Isles," in which he has been pleased to make a very friendly mention of my family, for which I am surely obliged to him, as being more than an equivalent for the reception you and he met with. Yet there is one paragraph I should have been glad had he omitted, which I am sure was owing to misinformation; that is that I had acknowledged Macleod as being Chief, though my ancestors disputed the pre-eminence for a long tract of time. I never had occasion to enter seriously on this argument with the present laird or his grandfather, nor could I have any temptation to such a renunciation from either of them. I acknowledge the benefit of being Chief of a clan is in our day of very little significancy, and to trace out the progress of this honour to the founder of a family of any standing would perhaps be a matter of some difficulty. The true state of the present case is this: the Macleod family consists of two different branches, the Macleods of Lewis, of which I am descended, and the Macleods of Harris. And though the former have lost a very extensive estate by forfeiture in King James the Sixth's time, there are still several respectable families of it existing who would justly blame me for such an unmeaning cession, when they all acknowledge me head of that family; which, though in fact it be but an ideal point of honour, is not hitherto so far disregarded in our country, but it would determine some of my friends to look on me as a much smaller man than either they or myself judge me at present to be. I will therefore ask it as a favour of you to acquaint the Doctor with the difficulty he has brought me to. In travelling among rival clans such a silly tale as this might easily be whispered into the ear of a passing stranger, but as it has no foundation *in fact*, I hope the Doctor will be so good as to take his own way in undeceiving the public. I principally mean my friends and connections, who will be first angry at me, and next sorry to find such an instance of my littleness recorded in a book which has a very fair chance of being much read. I expect you will let me know what he will write you in return; and we here beg to make offer to you and Mrs. Boswell of our most respectful compliments.—I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

JOHN MACLEOD.

To the Laird of Raasay.

London, May 8th, 1775.

Dear Sir,—The day before yesterday I had the honour to receive your letter. I immediately communicated it to Dr. Johnson. He said he loved your spirit, and was exceedingly sorry he had been the cause of the smallest uneasiness to you. There is not a more candid man than he is when properly addressed, as you will see from his letter to you which I now enclose. He has allowed me to take a copy of it, and he says you may read it to your clan or publish it if you please. Be assured, sir, that I shall take care of what he has entrusted to me, which is to have an acknowledgment of his error inserted in the Edinburgh newspapers. You will I daresay be fully satisfied with Dr. Johnson's behaviour. He is desirous to know that you

are, and therefore, when you read his acknowledgment in the papers, I beg you may write to me, and if you choose it I am persuaded a letter from you to the Doctor will also be taken kind. I shall be in Edinburgh the week after next. Any civilities which my wife and I had in our power to show your daughter, Miss Macleod, were due to her own merit and were well repaid by her agreeable company. But I am sure I should be a very unworthy man if I did not wish to show a grateful sense of the hospitable and genteel manner in which you were pleased to treat me. Be assured, my dear sir, that I shall never forget your goodness, and the happy hours which I spent in Raasay. You and Dr. Macleod were both so obliging as to promise me an account in writing of all the particulars, which each of you remember concerning the transactions of 1745-6. I beg to present my best respects to Lady Raasay. My compliments to your young family, and to Dr. Macleod. Hearty good wishes to Malcolm, with whom I hope again to shake hands cordially.

I have the honour to be, dear sir,

Your obliged ond faithful humble servant,

JAMES BOSWELL.

Dr. Johnson's letter enclosed in Mr. Boswell's for Macleod is as follows—

To the Laird of Rasay.

Dear Sir,—Mr. Boswell has this day shewn me a letter in which you complain of a passage in the “Journey to the Hebrides.” My meaning is mistaken. I did not intend to say that you had personally made any cession of the rights of your house or any acknowledgment of the superiority of Macleod of Dunvegan. I only designed to express what I thought generally admitted, that the house of Rasay allowed the superiority of Macleod of Dunvegan. Even this I now find to be erroneous, and will therefore omit or retract it in the next edition. Though what I said had been true, if it had been disagreeable to you, I should have wished it unsaid; for it is not my business to adjust precedence. As it is mistaken, I find myself disposed to correct, both by my respect for you, and my reverence for truth. As I know not when the book will be reprinted, I have desired Mr. Boswell to anticipate the correction in the Edinburgh papers. This is all that can be done. I hope I may now venture to desire that my compliments may be made, and my gratitude expressed to Lady Rasay, Mr. Malcolm Macleod, Mr. Donald Macqueen, and all the ladies and gentlemen whom I saw in the Island of Rasay; a place which I remember with too much kindness and too much pleasure not to be sorry that my ignorance or hasty persuasion should for a single moment have violated its tranquility. I beg you all to forgive an undesigned involuntary injury and to consider me as, sir,

Your most obliged and most humble servant,

SAMUEL JOHNSON.

London, May 6th, 1775.

The following is the advertisement written by Dr. Johnson and inserted by his desire in the Edinburgh

newspapers, and referred to in the foregoing letter:—

The author of the “Journey to the Western Islands” having related that the Macleods of Raasay acknowledged the chieftainship, or superiority of the Macleods of Skye, finds that he has been misinformed or mistaken. He means in a future edition to correct his error and wishes to be told of more, if more have been discovered.

John Macleod, during a visit to London, afterwards called upon Dr. Johnson, who gave a fashionable entertainment in his honour.

He married Jane, daughter of Macqueen of Rigg, Isle of Skye, with issue—

1. James, his heir and successor.
2. John, who died young.
3. Malcolm, a Captain in the Indian Army, who died unmarried.
4. Flora, who, in 1777, married Colonel James Muir Campbell of Lawers, afterwards fifth Earl of Loudon, with issue—an only daughter, Flora Muir, who, on his death, on the 26th of April, 1786, succeeded her father as Countess of Loudon in her own right. She was born in August, 1780, and on the 12th of July, 1804, married Francis, Earl of Moira. On 7th December, 1816, he was created first Marquis of Hastings, and was afterwards Governor-General of India. She died on 8th January, 1840, leaving issue—(1) George Augustus Francis, second Marquis of Hastings, born in 1808. (2) Flora Elizabeth, lady of the bed-chamber to the Duchess of Kent, who died on the 5th of July, 1839, unmarried. (3) Sophia Frederica Christina, who, on the 10th of April, 1845, married the late John, second Marquis of Bute, who died on the 28th of December, 1859, leaving issue—John Patrick, the present and third Marquis, who was born on the 12th of September, 1847. He succeeded to the title on the death of his father on the 18th of March, 1848, and on the 16th of April, 1872, married the Hon. Gwendoline Mary Anne Fitz-Alan Howard, eldest daughter of Lord Howard of Glossop, with issue. (4) Selina Constance, who, on the 25th of June, 1838, married Captain C. J. Henry, and died in November, 1867. (5) Adelaide

Augusta Lavinia, who, on the 8th of July, 1854, married Sir William Keith Murray, 7th Baronet of Ochertyre, and died on the 6th of December, 1860, without issue.

5. Margaret, who married Martin Martin, of Bealach, one of the ancient Martins of Duntulm. He was one of the handsomest men in the Isle of Skye in his day, and was remarkable for his great personal strength, and for his fine appearance. Many of his extraordinary feats are still spoken of with admiration by the people of Skye. He was grand-uncle to Sir Donald Martin Stewart, late Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Forces in India; and uncle to the late celebrated physician, Sir James Ranald Martin, London. By Martin Martin, Margaret Macleod of Raasay had issue—(1) Jane, who married Count Antoine, Baron Maurin, one of Napoleon's General Officers, with issue—one daughter, Stephanie, who married General Wigton Pant Jania, with issue—Jenny, who married Raymond, Conte de Matharde, with issue—Guillaume, Christian, Jeanne, and another daughter. (2) Isabella, who married her cousin, Martin Martin of Duntulm, and afterwards of Tote, Isle of Skye, brother to the late Dr. Nicol Martin of Glendale, without issue.

6. Janet, who married Archibald Macra, Ardintoul, with issue—three sons and six daughters—(1) Sir John Macra, K.C.H., Lieutenant-Colonel of the 79th Cameron Highlanders. He served through the Peninsular War and eventually became Military Secretary to his relative, the Marquis of Hastings, when Governor-General of India. (2) The late Alexander Macra of Hushinish, who married Margaret Macrae, with issue. (3) James, a surgeon in the army; died without issue. (4) Isabella, who married Major Colin Macrae of the 78th Highlanders, with issue—John; Colin; Archibald, who married Fanny Taylor, with issue; Duncan, who married Grace Stewart, with issue—Stuart John, Lieutenant, 42nd Royal Highlanders; Colin; Sophia; Annie; and Cecilia. (5) Jane, who married John Macrae of Achertyre, with issue—James, John, Archibald; and Jessie, who married John Stewart, with issue.

(6) Anne, who married Captain Valentine Chisholm, with issue. (7) Mary, who married Dr. Stewart Chisholm, of the Royal Artillery, who died at Inverness, in 1862, having attained the rank of Deputy Inspector-General of Army Hospitals, with issue. He was present at Waterloo, at the capture of Paris, and took part in the suppression of the Canadian Rebellion in 1838-39. Dr. Chisholm had issue—five sons and six daughters—(a) Captain Archibald Macra Chisholm, of Glassburn, late Captain 42nd Royal Highlanders (Black Watch), who married Maria Frances, only daughter of William Dominic Lynch, Devonshire Place, London, and grand-daughter of the late Lewis Farquharson Innes of Balmoral and Ballogie, Aberdeenshire. (b) Loudon, in the 43rd Regiment, H.E.I.C.S. He was killed on active service in the Burmese War in 1853. (c) Mary Stuart, who married Philip Skene, of Rubislaw, without issue; and (d) Jessie Macleod, who married Charles O. Rolland of Ste. Marie de Monnoir, near Montreal, Canada, with issue. Dr. Chisholm's other three sons and three daughters died young. (8) Flora Macra, of Ardintoul; and (9) Christina; both of whom died unmarried.

7. Catherine, who married her first cousin, John Macleod of Eyre, a Lieutenant in the Royal Navy, second son of Dr. Murdoch Macleod, of the 'Forty-five, without issue.

8. Isabella, who married Major Thomas Ross, R.A., with issue—John, who died young, and two daughters, the eldest of whom, Elizabeth Jane, married, as his second wife, Sir Charles D'Oyly, Baronet, the celebrated amateur artist, and died, without issue, on the 1st of June, 1875. Lady D'Oyly was brought up in Raasay, and afterwards accompanied her cousin, the Marchioness of Hastings, to India, where she made the acquaintance of her future husband and there married him. While in India, she had an elegant set of pipes, "of peculiar workmanship," made for Mackay, the famous Raasay piper. These she presented to him, and, in acknowledgment, he composed



in her honour, "Lady D'Oyly's Salute," so well known to the best pipers of our own day. Isabella Rosa, the second daughter of Major Ross, married Sir Walter Raleigh Gilbert, Baronet, of the H.E.I.C.S., with issue—Sir Hastings Gilbert; and two other daughters, one of whom, Flora Anne, married, first, Roderick Maclean, and, secondly, General Schubrick, with issue—Richard; Mary, who died young; Flora, Rose, and Rachel. The other, Geraldine, married Charles Colt, with issue—two sons, Walter Raleigh Gilbert, Charles, and four daughters, Elizabeth, Rhoda, Ethel, and Beatrice.

9. Julia, who married Olaus Macleod of Bharkasaig, with issue—four daughters, (1) Flora, who married Dr. George Baillie, Edinburgh, with issue—six sons and one daughter. (2) Jane, who married General Farrington, of the Bengal Artillery, with issue—nine sons and one daughter. (3) Margaret, who married her cousin, Charles Macsween, Chief Justice of Agra, India, with issue. (4) Mary, who married Dr. Donald Martin of Moidart, and afterwards of Monkstadt, Isle of Skye (brother of Martin Martin of Duntulm and Tote, and of Dr. Nicol Martin of Glendale), with issue—The Rev. Donald John Martin, now Free Church minister of Stornoway; and three daughters, Julia Macleod, Mary Anne, and Flora Hastings, all three of whom died unmarried.

10. Jane, who married her cousin, Colonel John Macleod of Colbecks, son of an eminent Jamaica planter, who was also named John of Colbecks, and died on the 12th of May, 1775. Colonel John, who is described as "married, with several children," registered arms in the Lyon Office in 1783. In 1809, Barlow, only surviving son of Colonel John Macleod of Colbecks, died. Colonel John had also five daughters, the youngest of whom, Susan, married Mr. Andrews, with issue—two sons, Hastings, who died and is buried at Canterbury; and Grenville. The other daughters, Julia, Flora, Margaret, and Charlotte, died unmarried.

11. Anne, who married Donald Mackenzie of Hartfield,



a Captain in the 100th Regiment of Foot, fourth son of Thomas Mackenzie, VI. of Applecross and IV. of Highfield, with issue—John, Thomas, and Elizabeth, who died unmarried; Flora Loudon, who married General Sir Alexander Lindsay, H.E.I.C.S.; Jane, who married James Macdonald of Balranald, with issue—Alexander Macdonald, now of Balranald, and of Edenwood, Fifeshire, and five daughters; Anne, who married Colonel Christopher Webb Smith, B.C.S., with issue, a daughter, Helen, who married Admiral Codrington, with issue—Anne, and Ellen; Isabella Mary, who married Dr. Lachlan Maclean, with issue—five sons and five daughters; and Maria, who married the late famous piper, John Mackenzie, the “Piobaire Bàn,” with issue. She died only a few years ago at her son’s residence in Liverpool.

12. Mary, who married the Rev. Donald Campbell, D.D., minister of Kilninver, Argyllshire. The late Dr. Norman Macleod of the Barony, in a biographical sketch of his father, the Rev. Dr. Norman of St. Columba, says that in 1806 the latter was appointed “assistant at Kilbrandon, where he lived in the contiguous parish with his cousin, Dr. Campbell of Kilninver (the father of the Rev. John Macleod Campbell, late minister of Row), for whose memory and worth he retained a grateful recollection to the day of his death. All who ever knew the good old man loved and revered him as the loyal friend and the Christian gentleman. The Rev. J. M. Campbell, his son, still remains the beloved friend of our family.” It would seem that “Caraid nan Gaidheal” lodged at that time with his cousin at Kilninver, for his son informs us in a footnote that “Dr. Campbell insisted that my father should pay him board, which he rigidly exacted every quarter from him, but every penny of which was returned to him when furnishing the manse of Campbelton, his kind friend then remarking, with a smile, ‘I thought it would be safer, Norman, in my keeping than in yours.’” By his marriage with Mary Macleod of Raasay, Dr. Campbell had issue—(1) the Rev. John Macleod Campbell, D.D.,

so well known in ecclesiastical circles as the hero of the famous Row Heresy Case, in connection with which he was deprived of his parish by the General Assembly. In the later years of his life he was best known as the author of a work called *The Nature of the Atonement*, which has been pronounced to be "a theological treatise of great value, and has had considerable influence on religious thought in Scotland." "Long before his death he had come to be looked up to as one of the intellectual leaders of the time."\* He was born in 1800, and died in 1872. He married Mary, daughter of John Campbell, Kilninver, with issue—(a) the Rev. Donald Campbell, Vicar of Eye, Suffolk, and Rural Dean, who married Louisa, eldest daughter of Sir John Anson, Baronet, with issue—two sons and two daughters. (b) John Macleod Campbell, of the Bombay Civil Service, who married Isabella Campbell, daughter of John Macleod of Saddell, with issue—John, and Anne. He died, on his way home from Bombay, on the 18th of November, 1888, having filled many important offices, such as Collector of Bombay, with the highest credit. (c) James Macnabb Campbell, C.I.E., LL.D., editor of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, an important work in thirty volumes, which Mr. Campbell edited for the Bombay Government, and upon which he was engaged for ten years—from 1876 to 1886. He is unmarried. (d) Robert Story Campbell, unmarried. (e) Margaret Duncan Campbell, who married the Rev. C. H. Wright, of Keston, Beckenham, Kent, with issue—one son and one daughter. (f) Jean Mary Campbell, who married William G. Crum, of Thornliebank, Renfrewshire, with issue—three sons and three daughters. (2) Donald Campbell, H.E.I.C.S., born in 1802, died in 1858. He married Mary Donellon, without issue. (3) Jean Mary Campbell, who married James Munro Macnabb, late of the Bengal Civil Service, with issue—(a) James William Macnabb, of the Bengal Civil Service, who married, first, Amy, daughter of Sir James Weir Hogg, Baronet, with issue—two sons

\* *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. VIII., p. 389.

and four daughters ; and, secondly, Alice, daughter of W. B. Corrie of Cheltenham, with issue—two sons and two daughters. (*b*) Sir Donald Campbell Macnabb, K.C.I.E., and C.S.I. (*c*) John Campbell Erskine Macnabb, of the 3rd Bengal Cavalry, who was killed at Meerut, during the Indian Mutiny, in 1857. (*d*) Roderick Macnabb, who died young. (*e*) Mary Jane Macnabb, who married James Erskine, of Linlathen, Forfarshire, with issue—two sons and five daughters. (*f*) Charlotte Elizabeth Dick Macnabb, who married William Fuller Maitland of Stanstead, Essex, with issue—one daughter, Margaret. (*g*) Flora Macnabb, who married John Walter, of Bearwood, principal proprietor of *The Times* newspaper, with issue—five sons, and one daughter—who, in 1888, married Frederick, eldest son of Sir Frederick Heygate, Baronet, of Southend, Essex. (*h*) Sophia Adelaide Macnabb, who married Henry Hugh MacNeile, of Parkmount, Belfast, with issue—three sons and four daughters.

13. Christiana, who married Alexander Macsween, an Indian judge, with issue—an only son, Charles, also an Indian judge, who married his cousin, Margaret, daughter of Olaus Macleod of Bharkasaig, with issue—Henry Davidson, an officer in the Bengal Artillery, who died unmarried in 1849 ; Hastings, an officer in the Bengal Engineers, who died unmarried in 1864 ; Jessie Anne, now residing at Upper Norwood, Surrey ; Flora, who married Charles Horne, of the Bengal Civil Service (who died in 1872), with issue—three sons and three daughters ; and six others, who died young.

John Macleod registered arms on the 16th of July, 1779. He was succeeded by his eldest son,

## X. JAMES MACLEOD,

Who made several improvements on the estate and rebuilt the mansion house in its present extensive and elegant proportions. He was Lieutenant-Colonel of the First Isle of Skye Regiment of Volunteers, one of two regiments

raised in the island in 1803, and numbering 517 men. He married Flora Maclean, with issue—

1. John, his heir and successor.
2. James, who married, with issue—one son and two daughters.
3. Loudon, married with issue—one daughter, Charlotte, who married Duncan Macrae, Faracabad, New South Wales, with issue—one son and two daughters.
4. Francis, who married, with issue—two sons, in Australia.
5. Hannah Elizabeth, who, on the 21st of November, 1833, married Sir John Campbell of Ardnamurchan (who died on the 18th of January, 1835), with issue—Sir John William Campbell, the present Baronet. He had also a daughter Hannah, who married Captain R. B. Clarke of Cluston; and several others. Hannah Elizabeth married, secondly, Henry Maule of Twickenham, and died on the 4th of November, 1873.

James died in 1824, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

## XI. JOHN MACLEOD,

An officer in the 78th Highlanders. He married Mary, daughter of Sir Donald Macleod, a distinguished military officer in the Indian Army, and son of Macleod of Bharkasaig, with issue—an only daughter who died young. Having got into difficulties, the estate was in 1846 sold by his creditors to George Rainy, when he emigrated to Australia.

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Arms, as registered by John Macleod, IX. of Raasay, on the 16th of July, 1779—Or, a burning mountain proper, in the dexter and sinister chief point, two crosses patée fitched gules. *Crest*—The sun in his splendour, proper. *Motto*—Luceo non uro. *Supporters*—Two savages, with flames of fire on their heads and hands, each issuing out of a burning hillock, all proper.

## THE MACLEODS OF RIGG.

THIS family is a branch of the Macleods of Raasay, and, so far as we can make out, the first of them who settled in Rigg, now swallowed up in the huge farm of Scorrybreck, near Portree, Isle of Skye, was

I. JOHN MACLEOD, of Rigg, second son of Alexander, VII. of Raasay, by his wife, Catherine, third daughter of Sir Norman Macleod, I. of Bernera (third son of Sir Roderick Mor Macleod, XIII. of Dunvegan), by his second wife, Catherine, eldest daughter of Sir James Macdonald, ninth Baron and second Baronet of Sleat. John Macleod of Rigg married, with issue—

1. Malcolm, a Captain in Prince Charles' Army during the 'Forty-five, whose history and services in securing the escape of His Royal Highness from Skye and Raasay afterwards, are already known to the reader. He met Dr. Johnson during his visit to the Western Isles in 1773, and Boswell gives an excellent description of his person and dress at the time, when Malcolm was, he informs us, "sixty-two years of age." From this it will appear that Malcolm was born in 1711, and that he was in the prime of life, full of youth and vigour, when he fought with Prince Charles at the battle of Culloden. He died unmarried.

2. Norman, who succeeded his father at Rigg, and carried on the representation of the family.

John Macleod was succeeded by his second son,

II. NORMAN MACLEOD, who married, with issue—

1. Norman Macleod, a Captain in the British Army. He served in the American War of Independence, and afterwards settled at Camustinavaig, in the Isle of Skye.

He married Mary, daughter of Campbell of Scalpa, Harris, with issue—two daughters, Anne and Catherine, both of whom died unmarried.

2. John Macleod, of Ollach, also a Captain in the army, who, like his eldest brother, served in the American War.

3. Dr. Murdoch Macleod of Kilpheder, North Uist, who married Mary, daughter of Maclean of Borreray, in that island, with issue, five sons and two daughters—(1) Murdoch Macleod, M.D., who went to the West Indies and practised his profession there for many years. He married Marion, daughter of the Rev. Edmund Macqueen, minister of Barra (who was settled there in 1774, and died in 1812), with issue—one daughter. Dr. Macleod returned to his native island of North Uist, where he died at a good old age. (2) Archibald; (3) Norman; (4) John; and (5) Dr. Alexander Macleod, so well and popularly known in the Western Isles as “An Doitair Bàn.” He was for many years chamberlain for Lord Macdonald in Skye, and North Uist, and afterwards for Clanranald in South Uist and Benbecula, and was probably the most popular man who ever acted in that capacity in the Highlands. He is still affectionately remembered by many of the oldest people in the Long Island, and there are many evidences of his good work yet to be seen in the Outer Hebrides. His attainments as a scholar are said to have been very high; as a medical man his skill was highly appreciated. He was always at the service of the people, generally without fee or reward of any kind, except the pleasure he derived from doing good. It is therefore not surprising that he gained the affection and confidence of the population, in all his professional and business relations with them, in a manner not attained by any other factor in modern times. Neither trouble nor distance deterred him from giving the poorest of the people the benefit of his skill, whenever and wherever within his reach they might be required, until he lost his life, while engaged in this work of mercy, at Loch Hourn, on the mainland, when he fell over a precipice returning from visiting a poor shepherd's family during a



dark night in that wild and rocky region. He married Mary, daughter of Kenneth Campbell of Strond, Harris (by his wife, Anne, daughter of Donald Macleod of Bernera, by his third wife, Margaret Macleod of Greshornish), with issue—(1) Donald Macleod, L.R.C.S.E., Hawick, Roxburghshire, who married Jessie Dinwiddie, with issue—Donald and Myra. (2) Murdoch Macleod, Melbourne, who married, first, Lissy Robertson, Australia, with issue—a son and daughter. He married, secondly, Adelaide, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Grills, with issue—one son, Charles Campbell. (3) Julia, who married the Rev. Norman Macleod, late Free Church minister of North Uist, son of Kenneth Macleod, of Ebost, fourth son of Donald Macleod, of Swordale, progenitor of the Macleods of Morven, with issue—(a) Kenneth Macleod, M.D., F.R.C.S.E., Brigade-Surgeon in the Indian Army, and Professor of Surgery in Calcutta, who married, first, Jemima, youngest daughter of James Macdonald, X. of Balranald, with issue—Julia, Jeanie, and Alice Maud; and secondly, Janet, daughter of John Aitken, Australia, also with issue; (b) Alexander; (c) Malcolm; (d) Murdoch, a physician in Beverley, Yorkshire, who married Daisy Marjoribanks, with issue; (e) Donald; (f) Charles; (g) Norman; and five daughters. 4. Johanna Campbell, who married Harry Macdonald of Treaslane, banker, Portree, Isle of Skye, with issue—(a) Alexander Macdonald, banker, and Colonel of Volunteers, Portree, who married Jessie, daughter of Norman Macleod of Scalpa. (b) Harry Macdonald of Viewfield, an Indian planter, who married Flora, daughter of John Mackinnon, of Kyle, Isle of Skye, with issue—Alexander, Isabel, Mary, and Una. (c) John Macdonald, also an Indian planter, who married Anne Marjory, daughter of Alexander Walker of Fyndinate, Perthshire, with issue—Harry, Anne Mary, and Gladys Marion. (d) Thomas Rankin Macdonald, a surgeon in the Indian Army and Deputy Inspector-General of Prisons, Rangoon. (e) George Rainy Macdonald, a Writer to the Signet, now in India. (f) Alexandrina, Mary, who married

William Armstrong of Kershope, Liddlesdale, with issue—two daughters. (*g*) Margaret, who married James Mac-laren, M.D., of Larbert, Stirlingshire, with issue—two daughters. (*h*) Mary Anne, who married James Simson, of the Bengal Civil Service, with issue—Harry, John, Mary, and Joan. (*i*) Mary Henderson, married Walter Mackenzie of Jeetworpore, Tirhoot, India, with issue—Alastair, and Johanna; and (*j*) Johanna Campbell, who, in 1888, married Lewis Reid, New Kelso, Lochcarron; and two other children. (*5*) Jane, who married the Rev. John Maciver, minister of Kilmuir, Isle of Skye, with issue—(*a*) Anne, who married Allan Andrews, H.M. Inspector of Schools, Keith; (*b*) Colin; (*c*) Alexander Maciver of Jeetworpore, Tirhoot, India, who married Lucy, daughter of Captain Agnew of Glasgow; (*d*) Somerled; (*e*) Fergus; (*f*) Ewen; (*g*) Donald; (*h*) Margaret; (*i*) Mary; (*j*) Jessie; (*k*) Anna Jane; and (*l*) Alexandra. (*6*) Mary Anne, who, in 1887, died unmarried.

Dr. Murdoch Macleod of Kilpheder's eldest daughter, and sister of the Doctor Bàn, was (*6*) Flora, who returned from America in the same ship in which her famous namesake, the deliverer of Prince Charles, returned from that country. While crossing the Atlantic the ship was attacked by a French privateer, and Flora Macdonald, remaining on deck to inspire the sailors until success was assured, was knocked down and had one of her arms broken in the scrimmage. Flora Macleod afterwards married the Rev. William Arbuckle, minister of North Uist, with issue. Her sister (*7*) Julia, died unmarried.

Norman Macleod, second of Rigg, was succeeded, as representative of the family, by his second son,

III. CAPTAIN JOHN MACLEOD, of Ollach, who married Janet Macdonald, of Dunsellar, North Uist, with issue—

1. Norman Macleod of Scalpa.

2. Dr. Archibald Macleod, North Uist, who married Flora, daughter of Donald Macleod of Arnisdale, with issue—one son, Donald Archibald Macleod, who married

Margaret, daughter of the Rev. Lewis Rose, minister of Tain, with issue—three sons and a daughter. Donald Archibald died in Australia in 1885.

3. Alexandrina, who, as his first wife, married Angus Nicolson, merchant, Portree, without issue.

Captain Macleod, of Ollach, was succeeded as representative of the family by his eldest son,

IV. NORMAN MACLEOD, of Scalpa, who married Jessie, daughter of Kenneth Macleod, of Swordale, afterwards of Ebost, Isle of Skye, with issue—two daughters,

1. Jessie, who married her cousin, Colonel Alexander Macdonald of Treaslane, and banker, Portree.

2. Margaret Anne Christina, who, as his first wife, married Alexander Macdonald, now of Balranald, North Uist, and of Edenwood, Fifeshire, without issue. She died in 1864.

## THE MACLEODS OF EYRE.

THE first of this family was Dr. Murdoch Macleod, second son of Malcolm Macleod, VIII. of Raasay, by his wife, Mary, daughter of Alexander Mackenzie, III. of Applecross. He followed Prince Charles and was wounded at Culloden. After the 'Forty-five he settled on the farm of Eyre, in the north of Skye, where he began the practice of his profession. Here he had a visit, during the famous tour to the Hebrides, from Dr. Johnson and his friend Boswell. They were quite taken with the agreeable manners and lady-like accomplishments of Mrs. Macleod, who, we are informed, was educated in Dublin. Boswell, describing the visit, says—"We had a dish of tea at Dr. Macleod's, who had a pretty good house, where was his brother [Norman], a half-pay officer. His lady was a polite, agreeable woman. Dr. Johnson said he was glad to see that he was so well married, for he had an esteem for physicians. The Doctor accompanied us to Kingsburgh." Dr. Macleod married Anne, daughter of Alexander Macdonald of Boisdale, by his wife, Margaret, daughter of John Macdonald, II. of Castleton, with issue—

1. Malcolm, who died, unmarried, in the West Indies.
2. John, a Lieutenant in the Royal Navy, who married his cousin, Catherine, daughter of John Macleod, IX. of Raasay, without issue.
3. Norman, a Lieutenant in the 92nd Gordon Highlanders, of which his uncle, Donald Macdonald of Boisdale, was Major. Norman fought under Sir Ralph Abercromby at the battle of Aboukir in Egypt, on the 13th of March, 1801, where he received a severe wound, from the effects of which he died, unmarried, in the following April.

4. Margaret, who married Kenneth Macleod, of Swordale, afterwards of Ebost, with issue—(1) Murdoch Macleod, M.D., of the 11th Native Infantry, India, who died unmarried. (2) Donald Macleod, a planter in Demerara. (3) The Rev. Norman Macleod, late of Payble, North Uist, who married Julia, daughter of Dr. Alexander Macleod, of North Uist, with issue, for which see THE MACLEODS OF RIGG. (4) Anne, who married Duncan, eldest son of William Shaw of Dalnaglar, Perthshire, with surviving issue—Charles Shaw, W.S., Sheriff-Substitute of Inverness-shire at Lochmaddy, and late of Thornhill, Inverness. He married Anne Margaret, eldest daughter of James Thomas Macdonald, X. of Balranald (by his wife, Jane, daughter of Captain Donald Mackenzie, fourth son of Thomas Mackenzie, VI. of Applecross), with issue—Duncan Shaw, W.S.; James Thomas, a Captain in the Inverness-shire Militia; Charles, married, with issue, in New Zealand; Alexander; Anne, who married Captain Donald Cameron, Cuchullin Lodge, Inverness, with issue; Jane; Margaret; Susan Christina; Elizabeth Anne Macdonald; Alexandra; and Maggie, who died in 1879. (5) Christian, who died unmarried. (6) Marion, who married the Rev. Alexander Adam, minister of the United Presbyterian Church at Portree, without issue. (7) Margaret, who died unmarried. (8) Flora, who married the Rev. D. Maclean, Free Church minister of Glenurchy, with issue. (9) Jessie, who married Norman Macleod of Scalpa, and IV. of Rigg, with issue, for which see THE MACLEODS OF RIGG. (10) Anne, who married James Douglas, of the Inland Revenue, without issue.

5. Anne, who, after her father's death, continued to reside in the old house at Eyre, until 1746, when she went to reside with her cousin, the late Rev. Roderick Macleod, at the Free Manse of Snizort, where she died, unmarried, in 1849.

## THE MACLEODS OF ASSYNT.

THE male representatives of this family are the senior cadets of the Macleods of Lewis. Torquil Macleod, IV. of Lewis, married Margaret, daughter of MacNicol, or Nicolson, who then possessed the lands of Assynt. MacNicol or "MacKrycul,"—the latter, "MacCricail," being the Gaelic form of the name even at the present day—had no male issue, and his daughter, as sole heiress, carried his lands to her husband, Torquil Macleod, IV. of the Lewis, who, about 1343, in the reign of David II., has a Royal charter in his favour "*terrarum baronie de Assynt, cum fortalicio*, etc. The terms of the charter are said to have been "as long as a cow gives milk and waves beat upon a rock." The fortalice is described as in the Island of Assynt, and Macleod was to give the service of a ship of twenty oars when required. The Thane of Sutherland, then superior of the lands, consented to the marriage, and the King gave his approval, granting the charter already named; which carried with it the superiority resigned by the Thane of Sutherland in favour of Torquil Macleod and his bride. Early in the 15th century the lands of Assynt were given by Torquil's son, Roderick, V. of Lewis (reserving the superiority to himself and to his heirs and successors in the Lewis), to his second son,

I. TORMOD OR NORMAN MACLEOD, the first of that family and name who possessed the extensive lands of Assynt, which are situated on the mainland, opposite the Lewis, in the County of Sutherland. The district of Assynt is said to have belonged to the Thanes of Sutherland before it became the property of the Mac-Nicols, the first of whom received it as a reward for



having recovered a great number of cattle carried away from the county of Sutherland by a horde of Scandinavians, who, in addition to stealing the cattle, set fire to the magnificent fir forest which at that time covered Assynt, and other extensive woods in the adjoining districts. Tormod died in the reign of James I. [1406-1437]. He married, with issue—

1. Angus, who was called “Old Angus” by the men of Assynt.

2. John Riabhach, who possessed Coigeach, and was famed for his valour and manhood. He had one son, John Mor, of whom the “Sliochd Ian Riabhaich.”

3. Tormod Bàn, of whose descendants, if any, nothing is known.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

II. ANGUS MACLEOD, second of Assynt, who married his cousin, Margaret, daughter of Malcolm Beag Mackintosh, X. of Mackintosh, and widow of Alexander Matheson, “Alastair MacRuairi,” of Lochalsh, beheaded on the Castle Hill, Edinburgh, shortly after 1427, in which year he was taken prisoner along with the Earl of Ross, and several other Highland Chiefs at Inverness. Matheson’s widow was left Tutrix to her eldest son, John, the young heir of Lochalsh. Angus Macleod of Assynt was induced to marry her by the extent of property committed to her care, and he was apparently determined to take possession of it and hold it for himself, right or wrong. The immediate result of the marriage was the flight of John Matheson’s heir to his grandfather, Malcolm Mackintosh, X. of Mackintosh, while his younger brother, Donald Bàn Matheson, fled to Sutherlandshire, where he became progenitor of the Mathesons of Shinness and Achany in that county. Angus Macleod of Assynt was thus left at liberty to enjoy, without interference, the property which he had taken possession of on his marriage to the heir’s mother. This enjoyment he continued until young Matheson grew up, when he solicited the assistance of his relative, Mackintosh of Mackintosh, in the effort which he was about to make

to regain possession of his father's heritage. Mackintosh at once consented, after which Matheson communicated his intentions to his friends in Lochalsh, all of whom agreed to help him and to enter cordially into his plans.

Angus Macleod of Assynt feared all along that John Matheson, the heir, might return, and be received and supported by the people of Lochalsh; and he placed spies throughout the whole district to advise him of any approaching danger in that connection. It was at that time the custom for a certain class of beggars—outcasts from their own district—to seek shelter among other Clans, and this was invariably accorded them. It is said that many of this class came from Assynt to Lochalsh, and that Macleod was naturally, in his peculiar circumstances, “well affected towards them.” They were known among the natives as “Buthanaich,” literally, *livers in tents*, and the class to which they belonged were usually ready to perform any task, however degraded, which might be allotted to them by those who sheltered them. One of these strangers, writes Captain Matheson, author of the Bennetsfield manuscript, was on this occasion insinuated by Angus Macleod into every family in Lochalsh. “Aware of this, it was concerted that on their retiring to rest, these noxious parasites should be severally despatched” on the night on which young Matheson should introduce his body of resolute Mackintosh volunteers into the district.

On his arrival he formed his doughty little band in a hollow between Reraig and Kirkton of Lochalsh, at a place still called “Glac nam Fear,” and then proceeded alone, disguised as a hawker of wool, and carrying a wallet of heath, to “Torr-an-t-Slachdaire,” where his mother and her husband, Angus Macleod, then resided. He sent a message to the lady of the house asking if she would purchase any fancy wools. She at once requested him to go in and submit samples of what he had. While exhibiting his varieties, he managed to introduce a reference to her eldest son, and artfully contrived to ascertain whether she wished to see that young gentleman some

day reinstated in his ancestral possessions or not. Having in this way discovered that his mother still entertained friendly feelings towards him, he made himself and his designs known to her, and was warmly received.

During the night all the Buthanaich were slain, in accordance with the pre-arranged plan between John and his friends, except one named MacEachern, who succeeded for a time in escaping capture, but he was finally overtaken and slain, as he arrived within a short distance of Macleod's house, whither he was proceeding to inform him of what had occurred. The place where he was slain is still called "Featha Mhic Eachern," or MacEachern's Bog.

Meantime young Matheson surrounded the mansion-house and set it on fire, "he himself attending to the safe escape of his mother, which she effected; but not before she secured that of her husband, concealed under her night-gown, and who, after she had passed those placed to intercept him, reached 'Doirre Damh,' in Duirinish, where he engaged a poor boatman to convey him to Lewis, under promise to give him a free grant of land. On his arrival, however, the Laird of Macleod, indignant at what had happened, ordered a gallows to be erected by the oars of the boat, and, hanging up the Lochalsh man, observed sarcastically, that at the foot of the gallows he might enjoy free land for ever in terms of Angus' promise."

Soon after this Angus Macleod attempted a descent on Lochalsh. Having landed at Ardhill, he came to an engagement at Kirkton, where he was again beaten at a place still called "Blair-nan-Saighdearan," and his retreat having been intercepted, a number of the routed force threw themselves into the church, trusting to it as a sanctuary invariably observed in those days inviolate. The sanctuary was, however, disregarded in this instance by a man named Duncan Matheson, who set fire to the building, and hence he ever after retained the sobriquet of "Donnachadh-an-Teampuill." Macleod himself, with a

broken remnant of his followers, escaped, but he was not so fortunate in a subsequent expedition, for, soon after, having landed again at Fernaig, he was encountered by Matheson and his followers, at Sail Fearna, when he was overpowered and killed.

The origin of the first church erected in the district, at Kirkton, at the head of Loch Assynt, is ascribed "to Angus Macleod, Laird of Assynt, between 1436 and 1443, who, we are informed, travelled into France and Italy, and having received favours from the Pope, vowed that he would build and endow a church at Assynt."\* As late as between 1780 and 1793 there remained of the original building an arched vault, "the burying place of the Macleods of Assynt," with an apartment above it supposed to be a place of private devotion. The earliest record found of this church is in 1455.†

It is curious to find that in 1386 Robert II. granted in heritage for his service, to "Fearchair Lighich," or Farquhar the Healer, described in the charter as "Fercharde Leche," along with numerous other isles, all the islands lying between "Rowestornastyng"—Stoer Point, in Assynt, and "Rowearmedale"—Armadale Point, on the north coast of the county of Sutherland, in the parish of Farr. The famous Farquhar is said to have cured the King, during a tour to the Western Isles, of some serious complaint, and this is the handsome manner in which he was rewarded for his services to a grateful Majesty. It does not, however, appear that Farquhar ever received much benefit from the Royal grant.

In the beginning of the fifteenth century the lands of Assynt were held by Roderick Macleod, V. of the Lewis. In 1502 James IV. granted a commission in favour of Alexander, Earl of Huntly, Thomas, Lord Fraser of Lovat, and William Munro of Fowlis, or two of the three, Huntly being always one of the two, to lease the lands of Coigeach, Assynt, and all the ferme lands that belonged to

\* *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, p. 693.

† *Register of the Great Seal*, Book VIII. No. 123.

Torquil Macleod, VIII. of the Lewis, then in the King's hands, "through the being of the said Torquil, his rebel, fugitive from the laws, and at his horn," with power to give part of the lands to good, true men, for such term as the Earl should deem expedient for the King's honour.\* Six years later, in 1508, the lands of Assynt and Coigeach, forfeited by Torquil of the Lewis, were granted by the same King for life to Y Dubh Mackay of Strathnaver, for his services in resisting and attacking the King's rebels and others, with power to sublet them. In 1511 His Majesty granted to Malcolm, son and lawful heir of Roderick Macleod, VII., and brother of Torquil, VIII. of the Lewis, forfeited in 1506, along with the other ancient possessions in that island and in Skye, the lands of Assynt, "in the earldom of Sutherland," and the lands of Coigeach "in the earldom of Ross," with the provision that if the lands of Assynt were formerly held of the Earl of Sutherland "he should suffer no loss of his superiority of the same." In 1525 John Kynnard was seised in the lands of Assynt on a precept from Adam, Earl of Sutherland. On the 2nd of April, 1538, James V. granted to Roderick, son and heir of the deceased Malcolm Macleod, IX. of Lewis, the non-entry and other dues of the lands and barony of the Lewis, including Assynt. In 1541 the lands of Assynt, on the resignation of the same Roderick (X. of the Lewis), were regranted to him and to his affianced spouse, Barbara Stewart, by James V. In 1572 James VI. granted to Torquil (Conanach), the son and heir apparent of the same Roderick Macleod of Lewis, and to the male heirs of his body, with remainder to Gillecillum Garbh Macleod, III. of Raasay and his male heirs, and to Torquil's male heirs whomsoever bearing the Macleod surname and arms, the lands and barony of Assynt, included in the barony of the Lewis which Roderick had resigned, reserving to Roderick the life-rent, on condition that he and Torquil should remain faithful to His Majesty. In 1614 Patrick Kynnard of that ilk was served heir to his

\* *Register of the Privy Seal*, Vol. II., pp. 108, 111-112.

great-grandfather in the lands of Assynt, and in 1616 his son John was similarly served heir to his father in the same lands. In 1633 "George Mackenzie was served heir male to Colin Earl of Seafort in the lands and barony of Assynt, with the mill, fishings, and adowsons of Churches" situated in the district.\* During the whole of this period, however, the Macleods seem to have held actual possession of the lands, either as proprietor, or "in tenandry" under the Macleods of Lewis.

By Margaret Mackintosh of Mackintosh, and widow of Alexander Matheson of Lochalsh, Angus Macleod had issue—

1. Angus Mor, his heir and successor.
2. Roderick; 3, Norman; and 4, John. John, the youngest, had two sons of his own—Neil and John Mor. Neil was killed "by the Sutherland men of Torran-Dow-Reawigh," leaving no issue, and John Mor was wounded at the same battle. This last-named John left issue, his descendants being known as "Sliochd Ian Mhoir."

On his death in Lochalsh, Angus was succeeded by his eldest son,

III. ANGUS MOR MACLEOD, third of Assynt, who married Anne Mackenzie of Coigeach, with issue, several sons; of whom survived,

1. Donald Cam, his heir and successor.
2. Norman, who succeeded his brother Donald.
3. Angus Beag, who succeeded his brother Norman.
4. John Riabhach, who succeeded his brother Angus.
5. Neil, who succeeded his brother John.
6. Hucheon, who had issue — Neil, Donald, John, Roderick, and Angus. He had also a natural son, Alexander.

Angus was slain by his nephew, the son of his brother John, at the Stoer. He was succeeded by his eldest son,

IV. DONALD MACLEOD, fourth of Assynt, called "Domhnall Cam" from his being blind of an eye. He fought a battle with John Mac Torquil Macleod of the

\* *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, pp. 694-695.



Lewis, in the vicinity of Loch-an-Assaidh, where he defeated his opponent and took him prisoner, but he was himself mortally wounded, and died shortly after. He married Margaret, daughter of Alexander Macdonald, VII. of Glengarry, widow of Cuthbert of Castle Hill, Inverness. She afterwards married, as his second wife, Torquil Conanach Macleod, who makes a grant of lands in her favour in 1590, without issue. Donald was succeeded by his next brother,

V. NORMAN MACLEOD, fifth of Assynt, who was slain by his brother, Angus Beag, at Leth-bhad. He died unmarried, and was succeeded by his next brother,

VI. ANGUS BEAG MACLEOD, sixth of Assynt. He was soon after slain by his bastard brother, Alexander, in revenge for the murder of his predecessor, their brother Norman, to whom Alexander was devotedly attached. Y Roy Mackay of Farr, whose daughter was married to Angus Beag of Assynt, was very angry about the death of his son-in-law, and he vowed vengeance against Alexander, who left the district and betook himself to the hills of Wester Ross, where he was ultimately captured by Mackay, and put to death. From this Alexander descended "Sliochd Alastair Mhic Aonghais."

Norman married Florence, daughter of Y Roy Mackay of Farr, without issue. He was succeeded by his next brother,

VII. JOHN RIABHACH MACLEOD, seventh of Assynt, whom Sir Robert Gordon describes as "a valiant gentleman," who "commanded and governed the country of Assynt for 15 years, with great commendation; and when he died he left the government of his country and children, who were under age, to his brother Neil." He married Christina, daughter of Macdonald of Keppoch, with issue—

1. Angus Mac Ian Riabhaich, his heir, who was lame of one leg.

2. John, who had several children.

3. Duncan, who died without issue.

For a time Neil Mac Angus, as Tutor for his nephew,

Angus Mac Ian Riabhaich, had command of the estates and the leadership of the Clan. He opposed the claims of the Mackenzies and Torquil Conanach in the Lewis and fought against them. "Neil Anguson of Assint, and the blood-stained Ruari Mac Allan," of Gairloch—Ruairi Nimhneach—"were among the leading partisans of the Chiefs of Lewis and Sleat; whilst Torquil Connanach Macleod and John Mackenzie of Gairloch were the most active on the other side."\* His brother Hucheon felt aggrieved at Neil for excluding him, for some reason or other, during his nephew's minority, from any command or position in the government of the district. Hucheon took Neil prisoner, but soon after released him on certain conditions. Neil, however, never forgave the insult offered to him by his imprisonment and, on one occasion, when Hugh and his second son Donald were on a visit to him at the family residence on the Isle of Assynt, he killed them both. For this crime Neil was apprehended by Torquil Conanach Macleod of the Lewis and Coigeach, who had him sent to Edinburgh, where he was executed in 1581.

Hucheon, who had been killed by his brother Neil, had issue—Neil, Donald, John, Roderick, and Angus.

Neil Mac Angus, executed at Edinburgh in 1581, was married to Margaret, daughter of Donald Macdonald, VIII. of Glengarry, with issue—

1. John Riabhach, who died in captivity in Girnigo Castle, Caithness, during his father's life, without issue.

2. Donald Bàn, who ultimately succeeded as head of the house.

Neil had also three bastard sons—Tormod, Angus, and Alexander.

On the death of Neil MacAngus,

VIII. ANGUS MACLEOD, Mac Ian Riabhaich, "who wes impotent of ane leg," having in the meantime come of age, succeeded as his father's eldest son and lawful heir. In about a year, however, he was dispossessed by

\* Gregory's *Highlands and Isles*, p. 213.

Hucheon MacAngus's sons, and by Tormod, Angus, and Alexander, the bastard sons of Neil MacAngus, who divided the estate among themselves, Angus Mac Ian Riabh-aich, his brother John, and the bastard sons of Neil MacAngus getting a third of the property between them, while Hucheon's children, though he was his father's youngest son, had the other two-thirds. Hucheon's eldest son, Neil, by the common consent of all parties, was chosen leader and commander of their united followers. Shortly after this arrangement was entered into, a dispute arose among themselves about fishing rents. Neil and his brothers proceeded to Ullapool, where the others resided, there attacked and after a sharp skirmish defeated them, killing Alexander, the son of Neil MacAngus, and wounding John Mac Ian Riabh-aich. Soon afterwards, Tormod, son of Neil MacAngus, was slain by Angus, son of Hucheon, at Inch-na-damh. To revenge this, Donald Bàn Mor, second son of Neil MacAngus, attacked John, Hucheon's son, and killed him at Cuileag, Loch-inver. Neil, Hucheon's eldest son, still maintained his position at the head of the people and possessed the Clan lands. But in 1585, Y Mackay, whose sister Donald Bàn Mor, the second, and now only surviving, son of Neil MacAngus, had married, took Donald's part, and, assisted by the Gunns, laid siege to the Isle of Assynt, where Neil resided. Alexander, Earl of Sutherland, came to the rescue and compelled Mackay to raise the siege and retire to Strathnaver, in consequence of which Neil was able to keep possession for some time longer. These family feuds continued, the various claimants in time killing each other, until there were scarcely any of themselves or their families left, and most of those remaining were slain by others. Angus, son of Alexander, Neil's son, who was among the last survivors of them, killed his father-in-law Neil, Hucheon's son. For that crime he was apprehended in Tain, and there executed by the Laird of Balnagown. The estates were then taken possession of by

IX. DONALD BAN MOR MACLEOD, second son of Neil,

fifth son of Angus Mor, III. of Assynt, and immediate younger brother of John Riabhach Macleod, VII. of Assynt. There was additional slaughter after Donald's accession, but for further details the reader must be referred to Sir Robert Gordon's *Earldom of Sutherland* [pp. 262-265], the author of which was contemporaneous with the events which he describes; for he was born in 1580. He was also closely connected with all the parties by family alliances. In June, 1623, Sir Robert was appointed Sheriff of Assynt; the manuscript of the work itself is dated 1639, and the author was alive in 1651, in which year his relative, Gilbert Gordon, brings to a close his "Continuation" of Sir Robert's History of the Earldom, which deals with the period from 1639 to 1651.

That Donald Bàn Mor was not the rightful heir and lawful successor to the Chiefship of the Macleods of Assynt is clear from what Sir Robert Gordon tells us. Angus Macleod, the eighth Chief, who was dispossessed by Hucheon MacAngus's sons and their bastard cousins, after having ruled for only one year, survived the sanguinary feuds and slaughters which afterwards took place among his relatives. Sir Robert Gordon says that "Angus Mac Ian Riabhaich (who was impotent of one leg) died very aged in Assynt, and left a son, Duncan, of great expectation; who, claiming that country as due unto himself, made diverse incursions in Assynt against Donald Bàn, Neil's son, until he gave him a fourth part of the country, which he possessed until the year of God 1609, that he died, leaving four sons; and thus did Donald Bàn, Neil's son (alias Macleod), happily bring his troubles to a prosperous end, and is at this day [1639] in quiet possession of the country of Assynt." Sir Robert further says that Donald "hath purchased a new title and right of the country of Assynt, from Kenneth Mackenzie, first Lord of Kintail, and hath settled it upon his own posterity; the Lord only knoweth how long it will continue in his line. He is become a provident and industrious gentleman, having, in his time, escaped many dangers and

troubles." Donald Bàn was bred and brought up, away from the broils of his kindred, by Robert Munro, fifteenth baron of Fowlis. In 1642 he received a charter of confirmation under the Great Seal from Charles I., dated the 21st of November in that year, in which he is designated *Donald Macleod de Assynt*, confirming to him and his heirs the lands of Annat and others in Inverness-shire, which were united by the same charter to the barony of Assynt. In May, 1646, the family residence, on the Isle of Assynt, was besieged by the Mackenzies. It was held and defended by Donald Bàn, who is described as being "then laird of Assint." On the conclusion of peace, about the middle of that month, between the King and the Kirk, the Mackenzies raised the siege and retired. Donald married Marian Mackay, daughter of Donald, first Lord Reay, with issue—

1. Neil, his heir and successor.
2. Donald, who died without issue.
3. Angus; 4. Roderick; 5. James.

6. Margaret, who married Sir Alexander Gordon, the youngest son of Alexander, Earl of Sutherland, with issue—five sons and two daughters.\*

7. Catherine, who married John Gordon, another son of the Earl of Sutherland.

8. Anna, who married Hugh Gunn of Kilearnan, progenitor of the MacJameses, or Jamiesons of Caithness.

Donald married, secondly, Christian, daughter of Nicolas Ross of Pitcalnie, with issue—

9. Donald, of whom there is no succession; and

10. Hugh Macleod, first of Cambuscurry, Edderton, who married Christina, daughter of Walter Ross of Invercharron, with issue—(1) Roderick, his heir, who married a daughter of Hugh Munro of Newmore, with issue—(a) Æneas, who married Janet, daughter of Alexander Mackenzie, VII. of Davochmaluag,† with issue—an only daughter, Mary, who

\* *Earldom of Sutherland*, p. 262.

† The marriage contract is dated 28 April, 1715; tocher 3000 merks—Mackenzie's *History of the Mackenzies*, p. 372.

married John Urquhart of Mount Eagle. (*b*) George; (*c*) Isabella; (*d*) Christina; (*e*) Elizabeth; and (*f*) Ellen, all honourably married. (2) Æneas, first of the MACLEODS OF CADBOLL, of whom hereafter. (3) Alexander Macleod of Sallachy, who married, with issue—several sons and daughters.

Donald Bàn Mor Macleod was succeeded by his eldest son,

X. NEIL MACLEOD, tenth of Assynt. He does not seem to have long outlived his father, and nothing worthy of note regarding his life can be ascertained. He married Florence, fifth daughter of Torquil Conanach Macleod of Lewis, with issue—

1. Neil, his heir and successor.

2. John, who, on the death of his brother Neil without issue, carried on the male representation of the family.

3. Alexander, who married with issue—a son John, who joined General Murray's regiment in the Dutch Service, and afterwards settled at Courtray. Here he married, in 1710, Jean Cartier, belonging to a family of repute in that country. He died in 1717, leaving issue by his wife, two sons—John Baptiste Piere Macleod. The eldest of these two sons became a merchant in Courtray, and, in 1773, married Francois de Clereg, with issue—(1) Louis Joseph Macleod, who was also a merchant and linen draper in Courtray. In 1759 he married Angelina van de Bourde, with issue—three sons and three daughters, Francois Louis; Louis; Jacques Benoit; Maria Angeline; Maria Theresa; and Maria Jeane. (2) Francois Ignace Joseph Macleod, who married Constance Nolf, of Courtray, with issue—two daughters, Marie Therese Josephe, who joined a religious order (Beggrunch), and Reging Joseph, who married John Francois Parmenter, of Bruges, with issue—one son, John Antoine, and two daughters, Marie Therese and Caroline.

Neil was succeeded by his eldest son,

XI. NEIL MACLEOD, eleventh of Assynt, who became



notorious in connection with the betrayal of Montrose, in 1650. Gilbert Gordon in his continuation of the *Earldom of Sutherland*, brought down to 1651, describes the facts of this case from personal knowledge. The Sutherland family, who fought against Montrose, Sir Robert Gordon, and the author of the Continuation, were all friendly towards Macleod of Assynt, who fought under the Earl of Sutherland. It may therefore be taken for granted that neither of the Gordons would write anything derogatory to their own friend, especially when that friend was instrumental in capturing the leader of an army which was over-running their property and slaughtering their people. This writer says that "James Graham [Montrose] and the Earl of Kinnoul escaping with six or seven in their company, wandered up that river the whole ensuing night and the next day, and the third day also, without any food or sustenance, and at last came within the country of Assynt. The Earl of Kinnoul being faint for lack of meat, and not able to travel any further, was left there among the mountains, where it was supposed he perished. James Graham had almost famished but that he fortun'd in this misery to light upon a small cottage in that wilderness, where he was supplied with some milk and bread. Immediately after the fight Captain Andrew Monro" [younger of Lemlair], he continues, "did write to Neil Macleod, laird of Assynt, who had married his sister, desiring him earnestly to apprehend any that should come to his country. The laird of Assynt was not negligent, but sent parties everywhere. Some of them met James Graham [Montrose], accompanied only with one Major Sinclair, an Orkney man. The party apprehends them, and brings them to Ard Bhreac, the laird of Assynt's chief residence. James Graham made great offers to the laird of Assynt, if he would go with him to Orkney, all which he refused, and did write to the Lieutenant-General that he had James Graham in his custody, who presently directed Major-General Holburn, with a party of foot, to bring him to Sutherland

which was done. James Graham was two nights in Skibo, and from thence he was conveyed to Brahan, and so to Edinburgh. Being presented there before the Parliament, he was sentenced to be hanged publicly at the Market Cross of Edinburgh, and to be quartered; his head to be put above the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, where his uncle, the Earl of Gowrie's head was formerly placed, the year one thousand and six hundred. His four quarters were appointed to be sent to Glasgow, Stirling, Saint Johnston, [Perth], and Aberdeen, there to be hung up, and his body to be buried in the Borrow-Muir, where the most odious malefactors are usually hanged and buried; all which was duly performed." He was executed in terms of this horrid sentence on the 21st of May, 1650, having been previously forfeited by Parliament, and excommunicated by the Church.

The same writer, who describes Montrose as "a man certainly indued with great gifts, if they had been rightly employed," says that "the Laird of Assynt went then [June 1650] south to the Parliament, to crave his reward for the apprehending of James Graham, which he received from the Estates. Twenty thousand pounds Scots was secured to him; he was also made Captain of the garrison of Strathnaver, with the consent of the Earl of Sutherland, who, before James Graham's coming into Orkney, had made the Laird of Assynt his Sheriff-Depute in Slios-a-Chaolais. The Estates at the same time did bestow a reward upon Hackett and Strachan for their good services against Graham. One thousand pounds sterling and a gold chain was given to either of them."\* These are the facts as recorded by a contemporary friendly author in the very year in which the events occurred, and to most minds, keeping that fact in view, they will appear conclusive.

Let us now see what a friend of Montrose, also a contemporary writer, says. The famous Bard of Keppoch, Ian Lom Macdonald, in his "Cumha Mhontrois," in the

\* *Gordon's Earldom of Sutherland*, pp. 555-557.

poignancy of his grief for the illustrious hero, exclaims—

Mhic Neill a Assainn chianail,  
Nan glacainn ann an lion thu,  
Bhiodh m' fhacal air do bhinn,  
'S cha diobrainn thu o'n chroich.

\* \* \* \* \*

Thu fein as t-athair-ceile,  
Fear-taighe sin na Leime,  
Ged chrochte sibh le cheile,  
Cha b' eirig air mo lochd.

Craobh ruisgt' de'n Abhall bhreugach,  
Gun mheas, gun chliu, gun cheutaidh,  
Bha riamh ri murt a cheile,  
'N ar fuigheall bheum is chorc.

Marbh-phaisg ort a dhi-meis,  
Nach olc a reic thu'm fir-eun  
Air son na mine Litich,  
As da-thrian di goirt.\*

The sour meal mentioned by Ian Lom refers to 400 bolls of damaged meal which Macleod is alleged to have received from Leith, in addition to the twenty thousand pounds Scots in cash paid to him by the Estates, for his betrayal of Montrose. Napier, in his well-known life of the hero, also mentions this part of the reward. He says Montrose "gave himself up to Macleod of Assynt, a former adherent, from whom he had reason to expect assistance in consideration of that circumstance, and indeed from the dictates of honourable feeling and common humanity. As the Argyle faction had sold the king, so this Highlander rendered his own name infamous by selling the hero to the Covenanters, for which 'duty to the public' he was rewarded with four hundred bolls of meal (*Macleod's Indictment, Criminal Records*, 1674). He was tried for that treachery, but saved by means of bribery and the interest of Lauderdale, the enemy of Montrose. Ian Lom, the bard of Keppoch, wrote a beautiful lament for the fallen hero, in which he does not spare Assynt."

Soon after the restoration of Charles II., Macleod was

\* Mackenzie's *Beauties of Gaelic Poetry*, pp. 50-51.

arraigned before the Scottish Parliament on this charge, as appears from the following documents, printed at length in the Appendix to *Bishop Pococke's Tour in Sutherland and Caithness*, so carefully and ably edited by Mr. Daniel William Kemp, Edinburgh, and published in 1888.

Letter to the King's Majesty (dated Edinburgh, 8th October, 1663) anent Neil Macleod of Assynt (spelling modernised) :—

“Most Sacred Sovereign,—There being a criminal process depending before your Parliament at the instance of your Majesty's Advocate, with the concurrence of the Marquis of Montrose as his informer, against Neil Macleod of Assynt, for his alleged betraying and giving up of the late Marquis of Montrose to those who murdered him, and for taking a sum of money from them in recompense of that treacherous act. And he being brought to the bar, and the dittay, with his answer thereunto, the reply made by your Advocate and his duplies, being at length read and considered; we find he (Macleod) denies the matter of fact alleged against him. But, supposing the same were true, he grounds his defence upon the indemnity granted by your Majesty to your Scots subjects in the treaty at Breda in the year 1650, and the ratifications of the same passed by your Majesty at your being in this kingdom in the years 1650 and 1651; though it was instantly offered to be proven under his hand that he had received the money above mentioned, and that this treaty could be no security to him, it not being produced, and not being (if any such thing be) before the deeds quarrelled. And we, considering that in all former processes during this Parliament, it was your Majesty's express pleasure, and, accordingly, all those crimes which were libelled against any person as done before that treaty and these assurances, or which had any ground of defence from them, were laid aside and not insisted on, having conceived it suitable to our duty and your Majesty's commands to forbear further procedure in this particular till your Majesty were acquainted therewith; that your Majesty, upon consideration of the business, may be pleased to give order either for the further prosecution thereof before your justice, or for sisting of all further proceeding; or for any other course therein which your Majesty in your Royal judgment shall think fittest for your honour and service. This is, in name and by warrant of your Parliament, signed by your Majesty's most humble, most obedient, and most faithful subject and servant.”\*

At a sitting of the Privy Council in Edinburgh on 1st December, 1663, a petition was presented by Neil, stating that he had been a prisoner in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh for over three years “upon groundless allegations of his accession to the betraying of the late Marquis of Montrose, by which imprisonment, etc., he is redacted to that condition by sickness that it is impossible

\* *Acta Parliamentorum Caroli II.*, 1663, Vol. VII., p. 500.

to him to escape death if he remain any longer in that place;" and craving to be released from prison, and to have the liberty of the city of Edinburgh, upon sufficient surety being found for his appearance when called upon. Medical certificates having been laid before the Council, their Lordships ordered him to be set at liberty, upon finding sufficient caution for his reappearance, and bound him not to leave Edinburgh under a penalty of £20,000 Scots.\*

On the same date (1st December, 1663), we find Neil Macleod of Assynt, as principal, and Colin Mackenzie, younger of Logie, and Captain William Hardie, as cautioners, acted in the books of the Privy Council, in a bond of caution, that Macleod "shall re-enter my persone in prisone within the said tolbuith of Edinburgh whenever I shall be requyred by the sds Lords of Council. And that in the meantime I shall confine myself within the citie of Edinburgh and that under the payne of 20,000 pounds Scots in case of failzie."†

The following letter from the King was read by his Majesty's commissioner, to the Privy Council, in February, 1666—

Charles R—Right trusty and right entirely cousin and counsellor. We greet you well, forasmuch as by one letter dated at Edinburgh the eight of October, 1663, sent to us by our Parliament, we were informed that the criminal process depending at the instance of our advocate for the time with the concurrence of the Marquis of Montrose against Neil Macleod of Assynt, for the alleged betrayal of the late Marquis of Montrose, and for taking a sum of money in recompense of that treacherous act. Which said Neil did deny the said crime alleged against him, but yet, supposing the same were true, he did defend himself under the indemnity alleged granted by us at Breda in the year 1650, and the ratification of the same by us at our being in Scotland in the years 1650 and 1651, and that our parliament *ceased* doing that in all form or process during that parliament. It was our express pleasure that all those crimes which had any ground of defence from the treaties and assurance aforesaid should be laid aside and not insisted in, which was accordingly done in several other crimes against several other persons, and that the parliament conceived it their duty and suitable to our commands to forbear further procedure in this particular, till we, upon consideration of the business,

\* *Register of Privy Council: Acta Decreta*, 1663.

† *Register of Privy Council: Acta Caut.*, 1663.



might be pleased to give order either for further prosecution thereof before our justice, or for sisting of all further proceedings as in our Royal judgment we should think fit.

And we, considering also that by the public indemnity made in the second session of our first Parliament, there is no exception of the said Neil Macleod, but that he is included within our first general pardon and indemnity, whereby all manners of treasons, murders, and offences done by any person by virtue of any power or warrant from any pretended Parliament, council, committee, commanders of armies, or other pretended authority, under whatsoever title, name, or designation, since January 1637 until September 1660, or by any their abettors and assisters, are pardoned and discharged. And it being also represented to us that, notwithstanding all the foresaid Acts of Indemnity, and sure pardon and the sisting of proceedings against him before the Parliament as is mentioned in the said letter, yet the said criminal process was of new again intended before the justice, and the said Marquis of Montrose, with concurrence of our advocate, insisting therein.

And having considered the said letter from our Parliament, and the said general Act of Indemnity, and being most tender and careful that the public security and free pardon which we have so graciously indulged to our subjects for liberating them of their minds and composing their minds to cheerful affection for our Royal person and government should [not?] be violat, broken, or impeached in any case wherein there may be any ground of defence from the said Act of Indemnity granted in the second session of the first Parliament, or from any pretended act of indemnity granted at Breda or in Scotland in the years 1650 and 1651.

Wherefore it is our will and pleasure that the foresaid process against the said Neil Macleod, for the alleged betraying of the late Marquis of Montrose, and taking of the said recompense therefor, should be sisted and no further proceeded in before our justice, and that our judges, civil and criminal, should be discharged to meddle or proceed in the said matter.

And that the aforesaid Act of Indemnity ought and should free and liberate the said Neil from any \_\_\_\_\_ for the deed aforesaid.

And that this our will and order be intimated by you our Commissioner and Lord of our Council, to our justices, and the said justices accordingly discharged to proceed, and that no \_\_\_\_\_ be thereafter intended or moved against the said Neil Macleod, before whatsoever judges for the aforesaid crimes and deeds, for sisting and discharging these presents shall be a sufficient warrant, which you shall communicate to the Lords and others of our Privy Council.

And so we bid you heartily farewell.—Sub-scribitur sic by His Majesty's command.  
LAUDERDALE.

Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 20th day of Feb.,  
1666, and of our reign the 13th year.

The said Lords of Council having heard and considered the aforesaid letter, ordain the same to be recorded in the books and to be intimated and the judges therein mentioned discharged in manner therein appointed.”\*

\* *Acts of Privy Council*, 1666-7, p. 546.



Macleod, it will be noticed, was thus set at liberty, not on the ground that he was innocent of the charges made against him, but on the plea set up on his behalf that his offence was covered by the Act of Indemnity passed by Parliament in the second year after the Restoration, by which "all manner of treasons, murders, and offences done by any person by virtue of any power or warrant from any pretended parliament, council, committees, commanders of armies, or others, pretending authority under whatsoever title, name, or designation, since January 1637 until September 1660, or by any their abettors and assisters, are pardoned and discharged." He was not, however, even yet clear of the matter.

Fourteen years after, he was again placed upon his trial for these and other alleged crimes and offences. On the 2nd of February, 1674, he was placed in the dock upon an indictment "charging him with several treasonable crimes; viz.—1st, with betraying, under trust, the late Marquis of Montrose, his Majesty's Commissioner and Lieutenant-General, and delivering him a prisoner to the rebels in A.D. 1649, who murdered him, for which the said Macleod of Assint received a reward of 400 bolls of meal. 2nd, with having in A.D. 1654, assisted the English rebels commanded by General Morgan in burning and plundering the north. 3rd, with having, in A.D. 1669, exacted arbitrary taxations upon all shipping that came to anchor in any of the creeks belonging to the prisoner. And, 4th, with having, in A.D. 1670, fortified and garrisoned his house of Ardbreck, and defended the same against the Sheriff of Sutherland, who had His Majesty's warrant to eject him. Now, although the two first articles in the indictment are by much the deepest of the crimes with which Macleod of Assint was charged, His Majesty's advocate declared, 'he did not insist upon the two first crimes libelled *but only as aggravations.*'"\* On this occasion Macleod was again acquitted, but the result of this trial

\* *Arnot's Criminal Trials*, p. 263. *Records of Justiciary*, February 2nd, 1674.

and other misfortunes was that he lost the family estates.

In 1681 Kenneth Mor Mackenzie (eldest son of the Hon. Simon Mackenzie of Lochslinn, fourth son of Kenneth, first Lord Mackenzie of Kintail), then of Glenmarkassie, and afterwards first of the Old Mackenzies of Dundonnell, is designed as Chamberlain of Assynt, and is acting under the orders of Roderick Mackenzie, elsewhere described as "Servitor to the Marquis of Seaforth." In 1690, the Hon. John Mackenzie of Assynt, second son of George, third Earl of Seaforth, is in possession and is designed "of Assynt;" and in that year he grants a discharge to the Chamberlain, Kenneth Mackenzie of Glenmarkassie, for 2448 merks, being the full rent of Assynt for crop 1689.

In the same year the Chamberlain receives orders to remove Neil Macleod from the district. We are indebted to Mr. Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P., for a copy of the order of removal, which bears on the back of it, "Orders to Kenneth Mackenzie for removing Neill Macleod out of the lands of Assint, 5 August, 1690." The document itself is as follows—

"By Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Lumsdaine, in the Lord Strathnaver's Regiment of Foot, and Commander-in-Chief of their Majesties' Forces in and about Inverness.

Being informed that Neill Macleod, late Laird of Assint, has violently, at his own hand, taken possession of the house and lands of Assint, belonging to Peter Forbes, merchant, Edinburgh, and doth thereby molest the tenants, and interrupt the herring and salmon fishings: Therefore, you are hereby ordered to remove and turn out the said Neill Macleod and his servants furth of the said houses and lands, and to take care that he make no disturbance in the country; but if he have any pretence to the said lands, let him take a legal course conform to the rights he pretends to have thereto. And in case he disobeys, or makes any resistance, you are to secure his person, ay and until he gave security for his peaceable behaviour. Given at Inverness, the fifth day of August, 1690.

(Signed) ROT. LUMSDAINE.

For Mr. Kenneth Mackenzie, Glenmarkness,  
Chamberlain and Bailie to Mr. John  
Mackenzie of Assint.

We have not ascertained whether Neil had been removed or not, but he appears to have secured at least

nominal possession of the property, for, on the 25th of November, 1691, a summons of Reduction, Improbation, and Declarator is signetted against him at the instance of the Hon. John Mackenzie, and a note on the back of the writ shows that a copy of it was served upon him personally on the 27th of the same month, two days after—a fact which proves that Neil must have been in Edinburgh at the time. In 1716, “Kenneth Mackenzie, now of Assynt,” is described as the son of the late John Mackenzie of Assynt. He died without issue. The Mackenzies, however, were never in full possession of the lands themselves, for almost immediately after getting nominal possession they wadsetted Inverkirkaig, Phillin, Inver, Badidarroch, Torbreck, Bracloch, Little Assynt, Loch Bearnock, Achnaloich, and Clashmore; and all the lands were judicially sold about 1760.

Sir Robert Douglas puts Neil's case in the most favourable light. He says—“There having been some old incumbrances upon the estate of Assynt, incurred through the iniquity of the times, and this Neil having become security for some of his friends in several small sums, some of his more powerful neighbours took advantage of his indolence, and of the distance he lived from, and difficulty of access to public justice at that time, bought up his debts with an old apprising or two, whereby they carried off his whole estate for less than half the value; and though both he and his heirs have intended several processes for the recovery of their just rights, yet they have never hitherto obtained any redress, nor have they recovered any part of their paternal inheritance. The spite of his enemies was carried so great a length against this unfortunate gentleman, that, not satisfied with having deprived him of his estate, a criminal process was intended against him before the Court of Justiciary, when he was tried by a jury of his countrymen for different dittays laid to his charge, but was most favourably acquitted, as appears from the record of the Court.”\*

\* *Douglas's Baronage*, p. 388.

Neil married a daughter of Colonel John Monro of Lemlair, without issue, and on his death, the representation, but not the estates, devolved on his next brother,

XII. JOHN MACLEOD, who married Jean, daughter of Malcolm Ross of Kindeace, with issue—

1. Captain Donald, designated of Geanies, and first of that family, of whom presently.

2. Neil, a Captain in a foot regiment, and at one time governor of Blackness Castle.

John had also four daughters, all of whom were well married.

## THE MACLEODS OF GEANIES.

ON the death of Neil Macleod, XI. of Assynt, without male issue, he was succeeded as representative of the family, but not in the estates, by his brother, John Macleod, designated in the account of that family as XII. of Assynt. This John became the progenitor of the Macleods of Geanies, and they have thus not a drop of the blood of Neil, who betrayed Montrose, in their veins. In consequence of Neil's misfortunes, and the alienation of his property to the Earl of Seaforth and others, his brother John was obliged to live in comparative obscurity. John married Jean, daughter of Malcolm Ross of Kindeace, with issue—

1. Donald, his heir.
2. Neil, a Captain in a foot regiment, and afterwards Governor of Blackness Castle.

John had also four daughters, who are all said to have been well married.

He was succeeded as representative of the family by XIII. DONALD MACLEOD, first of Geanies, a Captain in the Scottish Brigade in Holland. He bought the lands of Geanies, in Easter Ross, from Sinclair of Dunbeath, and to some extent restored the status of the family. He married Elizabeth, only child of Walter Ross of Nonikiln, and Provost of Tain, with issue—

1. Hugh, his heir and successor.
2. William, a merchant in Rotterdam.
3. Jean, who married the Rev. James Fraser, of Pit-

calzean, now called Westfield, and minister of Alness from 1726 to 1769, without issue.

4. Anne, who died unmarried.

5. Isabel, who married Thomas Urquhart of Kinbeachy, with issue—(1) John, his heir and successor; (2) the Rev. Thomas Urquhart, minister of Rosskeen, who married Miss Clunes of Crakaig, with issue. (3) Jean, who married D. Mackinnon, with issue; and (4) Jessie, who married D. Macleod, with issue, among others, Lady Grant and Lady Falkner.

Captain Donald was succeeded by his eldest son,

XIV. HUGH MACLEOD, second of Geanies, who married Isabel, daughter of James Fraser of Achnagairn, and niece of Duncan Forbes of Culloden, Lord President of the Court of Session, with issue—

1. Donald, his heir and successor.

2. James, who died unmarried in the West Indies.

3. William, who died unmarried in America.

4. Duncan, who died unmarried in Holland.

5. Isabella, who married John Gordon of Carrol, now Gordonbush, near Brora, Sutherlandshire, with issue—Joseph Gordon, W.S., who sold the property to the Duke of Sutherland. He married Anne Clunes of Crakaig, with issue—a large family. Isabella had also several other sons and daughters.

6. Mary, who, as his first wife, married Charles Monro of Allan, without issue.

Hugh was succeeded by his eldest son,

XV. DONALD MACLEOD, third of Geanies, an Advocate at the Scottish Bar, and for nearly sixty years—from 1744 until his death—Sheriff-Principal of Ross and Cromarty. He married, first, Margaret, daughter of James Craufurd, of Rotterdam, with issue—

1. Hugh of the H.E.I.C.S., who died in India, before his father, unmarried.

2. James Craufurd, who also died before his father. He married Stuart Sutherland, with issue—Donald, a Lieutenant in the Bengal Army, who, on the death of his



grandfather, Sheriff Macleod, carried on the representation of the family ; and Mary Craufurd, who, in 1840, married, as his first wife, the late Sir Alexander Matheson, Baronet, of Lochalsh, without issue. She died in 1841.

3. Patrick, appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the 78th Highlanders (Ross-shire Buffs) on the 17th April, 1804, which regiment he commanded at the battle of Maida, where he was wounded, in 1806, and was afterwards killed in action at El Hamet, in Egypt, on the 21st of April, 1807, leaving no issue.

4. William, a Lieutenant in the Royal Navy, who died before his father, without issue.

5. Duncan, a Lieutenant-General in the Bengal Engineers, who, on the death of his nephew, Donald Macleod, became head of the family.

6. Elizabeth, who married Dr. Thomas Farquharson, of Howden, with issue—(1) George, who died without issue. (2) Margaret, who married Alexander Cleghorn, with issue, among others, the late Sheriff Cleghorn. (3) Annabella, who, in 1815, married Duncan Matheson of Achany, eldest brother of the late Sir James Matheson of the Lewis, with issue. He was an advocate at the Scottish Bar, and, for many years, Sheriff of the burgh of Leith. By this lady, who died in 1829, Sheriff Matheson, who died in 1838, had issue—Donald Matheson, heir of entail to his late uncle, Sir James Sutherland Matheson, Baronet of the Lewis. He married in 1849, Jane Ellen, third daughter of Horace Petley, R.N., with issue—Hugh Mackay Matheson, Hampstead, London, who married Agnes, daughter of David Macfarlane, with issue ; Thomas Matheson of Liverpool, who, in 1850, married Anne, daughter of John Cropper, without issue ; and two daughters, Elizabeth and Isabella. Dr. Thomas Farquharson had also five other daughters by Elizabeth Macleod of Geanies.

7. Isabella, who married Dr. James Gregory, Edinburgh, with issue—(1) John ; (2) Hugh ; and (3) James ; all of whom died without issue. (4) William, who married Lizette Scott, with issue—James Liebig. (5) Donald

Gregory, author of the *History of the West Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, so often referred to and quoted in this work. He died unmarried. (6) Duncan, a distinguished mathematician, who also died unmarried. (7) Margaret, who married Dr. Alison, without issue. Dr. James Gregory had also four other daughters—Jane, Elizabeth, Isabella, and Georgina, all of whom died unmarried.

8. Mary, who married Sir George S. Mackenzie, Baronet, VII. of Coul, with issue—(1) Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Baronet, VIII. of Coul, an officer in the Bengal Army, H.E.I.C.S., who died unmarried in 1856. (2) Sir William Mackenzie, Baronet, IX. of Coul, who married Agnes, daughter of R. D. Smyth of Ardmore, Derry, and died without issue in 1868. (3) George Mackenzie, who died unmarried in 1839. (4) Sir Robert Ramsay Mackenzie, Baronet, X. of Coul, born in 1811, and married, in 1846, Louisa Alexandrina, daughter of Richard Jones, a member of the Legislative Assembly of Sydney, Australia, with issue—Sir Arthur G. Ramsay Mackenzie, Baronet, XI. and present of Coul, born in 1865. (5) The Rev. John Mackenzie, late minister of Ratho, born in 1813, and married, in 1839, a daughter of the famous Thomas Chalmers, D.D., without issue. He died in London in 1878. (6) Donald Macleod Mackenzie, Admiral, Royal Navy, born in 1815, and married, in 1865, Dorothea, daughter of Admiral Sir Michael Seymour, G.C.B., without issue. (7) The Rev. James Mackenzie, who married Philadelphia, daughter of Sir Percival Hart-Dyke of Lullingstone, Kent, Baronet, without issue. He died in 1837. (8) Margaret; (9) Catherine; and (10) Mary, who died unmarried.

9. Annabella, who married Charles Carter Petley of Riverhead, with issue—(1) Charles Carter Petley, who married Martha Woodgate, with issue—three sons and three daughters. (2) Patrick Macleod Petley, who married Elizabeth M. Petley, without issue.

10. Jane, who died unmarried.

11. Margaret, who died unmarried.

12. Sheriff Macleod married, secondly, Jane, daughter

of Charles Petley of Riverhead, and widow of Captain Kenneth Mackenzie, V. of Cromarty, without issue. He was succeeded, as representative of the family, by his grandson,

XVI. DONALD MACLEOD, eldest son of James Craufurd, second son of Sheriff Macleod, third of Geanies. He was an officer in the Bengal Army, and died in India, in 1842, when he was succeeded as representative of the family by his uncle, a younger, and the only surviving, son of Sheriff Macleod,

XVII. DUNCAN MACLEOD, fifth of Geanies, a Lieutenant-General in the Bengal Engineers. He married Henrietta Friel, with issue—

1. Duncan Craufurd Macleod, of the Bengal Civil Service. He died in India, unmarried.

2. Sir Donald Friel Macleod, K.C.S.I. and C.B., of the Bengal Civil Service, who afterwards became the male representative of the family.

3. George Forbes, who died before his father, but married Anna Butter, with issue—an only son, George Edmonstone Macleod, now head of the house.

4. Jane Alicia, who married Dr. James Innes, of the H.E.I.C.S., with issue—James John Macleod Innes, Lieutenant-General, Royal Engineers, V.C., who served in the Defence of Lucknow and throughout the Mutiny in 1857. He married Lucy Jane, daughter of Dr. Hugh Macpherson, Professor of Greek, and sub-Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, with issue—(1) James Edgeworth Innes. He was in the Indian Civil Service and died in India. (2) Hugh Macleod Innes; (3) Arthur Donald Innes; and (4) Alicia Sibella Innes. Dr. Innes had also three daughters—Henrietta Georgina Forbes, who married the Rev. Alexander Luke, with issue; Margaret Clunes, who died unmarried; and Elinor Caroline Pemberton, who married Dr. Barclay Scriven, without issue.

5. Henrietta Peach, who married Captain Robert B. Pemberton, with issue—Colonel Robert Charles B. Pemberton, Royal Engineers, who served at the sieges of

Delhi and Lucknow, and has been twice married with issue—two sons and three daughters; John Macleod Pemberton, who died in India, unmarried; Duncan Scott Pemberton, Colonel, Royal Artillery, married and died in India, with issue; Sholto Edmonstone Pemberton, Lieutenant-Colonel, Royal Artillery, married, with issue; and a daughter, Henrietta Peach Pemberton, who married Sir George Udny Yule, K.C.S.I., with issue.

6. Margaret, who married John Abraham Francis Hawkins, with issue—two sons, John, who died young, and Robert Macleod, married, with issue.

Duncan Macleod was succeeded as representative of the family by his only surviving son,

XVIII. SIR DONALD FRIEL MACLEOD, K.C.S.I., and C.B., of the Bengal Civil Service. He was Financial Commissioner of the Punjaub during the Indian Mutiny in 1857, and afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjaub. He married Frances, daughter of Sir Robert Montgomery, without issue. He was killed in a railway accident in London in 1872, when he was succeeded as head of the house of Assynt and Geanies by his nephew, the only son of his deceased brother, George Forbes,

XIX. GEORGE EDMONSTONE MACLEOD, sixth and present representative of the family. He was born in 1850, and is in the Indian Civil Service, being a Deputy-Commissioner in Assam, Bengal. He married Cara, daughter of Admiral Walcot, with issue, two sons and one daughter—

1. Donald.
2. George Sholto.
3. Mona.

## THE MACLEODS OF CADBOLL.

THE Macleods of Cadboll are descended from Donald Bàn Mor, IX. of Assynt, who was twice married; first, to Marian, daughter of Donald, first Lord Reay, with issue—from whom the direct main line, which terminated in Neil Macleod, XI. of Assynt, so notorious in connection with the betrayal of Montrose, and who died without issue towards the end of the seventeenth century. There is therefore not a drop of the blood of Neil, the betrayer of Montrose, in the veins of the Macleods of Cadboll—a fact which, we should think, they have no reason, and are not at all likely, to regret.

Donald Bàn Mor, IX. of Assynt, married, as his second wife, Christian, daughter of Nicolas Ross of Pitcalnie, with issue—

1. Donald, who died without issue.

2. Hugh Macleod, I. of Cambuscurry, progenitor of the Macleods of Cadboll. Hugh married Christian, daughter of Walter Ross of Invercharron, with issue, three sons—

1. Roderick Macleod, II. of Cambuscurry, who married a daughter of Hugh Munro of Newmore, with issue—  
(1) Æneas, who married Janet, daughter of Alexander Mackenzie, VII. of Davochmaluag, with issue—an only daughter, Mary, who married John Urquhart of Mount Eagle. (2) George, who died unmarried. Roderick had also four daughters. It will thus be seen that, on the death, in 1729, of Roderick's son Æneas, without male issue, and of his second son, George, unmarried, the representation of the family devolved, as heir of entail, upon their uncle, the second son of Hugh, I. of Cambuscurry,

- I. ÆNEAS MACLEOD, first of Cadboll and Cambuscurry.

He went to Edinburgh ; adopted the profession of the law, and became Town Clerk of Edinburgh. About 1680, he purchased the estate of Cadboll from the Earl of Cromarty. He represented the county of Cromarty in the Scottish Parliament from 1703 to 1707, and was one of the Scottish members who signed the Treaty of Union with England. He married Margaret, eldest daughter of Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, first Baronet, and IV. of Scatwell. After Cadboll's death, she married, as her second husband, Roderick Mackenzie, IV. of Applecross, with issue—an only daughter, Lillas, who married Alexander Chisholm of Chisholm.

By his wife, Margaret Mackenzie of Scatwell, Æneas Macleod had issue—

1. Roderick, his heir and successor.
2. George, who died without issue.
3. Hugh, who also died without issue.
4. Frances, who married Hugh Rose of Clava.

Æneas Macleod was succeeded by his eldest son,

II. RODERICK MACLEOD, second of Cadboll. He took part in the Rising of 1745, but the estate was preserved to the family through the influence of the Earl of Sutherland, on condition, however, that Cadboll should for a time live abroad. Possessing a literary taste, he accumulated a very extensive library while away, and on being allowed to return home he brought it to Cadboll, where he built four rooms, entirely constructed of stone, to hold it. He registered arms in the Lyon office about 1730. He married in 1751, his cousin Lillas, daughter of William Mackenzie, III. of Belmaduthy (by his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, IV. of Scatwell), with issue—

1. Robert Bruce Æneas, his heir and successor.
2. Margaret.

He died in 1770, when he was succeeded by his only son,

III. ROBERT BRUCE ÆNEAS MACLEOD, third of Cadboll. He was born on the 23rd of January, 1764, and was then only six years old when his father died. He



was educated at Eton. About 1780, his trustees bought Invergordon Castle, formerly called Inverbreakie, and built by Sir William Gordon. The library collected by Roderick Macleod was removed from Cadboll to the Castle, but the latter was burnt down in 1805, and the whole of the books were destroyed, along with a large and valuable collection of Indian curiosities and silver plate, which Roderick Macleod inherited from a relative who had been captain of an East India merchant ship. On the 23rd of July, 1784, he registered arms differing considerably from that registered by his father. In 1790, he contested Sutherlandshire, and, from 1807 to 1812, he represented the county of Cromarty in Parliament. From 1794 to 1833, he was the first Lord-Lieutenant of that county. On the 27th of July, 1784, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Captain Alexander Macleod of Harris, and VI. of Bernera, with issue—

1. Roderick, his heir and successor.
2. Sophia, who died unmarried.
3. Elizabeth Letitia, who died unmarried.

He died in 1844, and was succeeded by his only son,

IV. RODERICK MACLEOD, fourth of Cadboll, born in 1786. He was called to the Scottish Bar in 1810. He represented the county of Cromarty in Parliament from 1818 to 1820, and Sutherlandshire from 1831 to 1837. In the latter year he was elected for the Inverness Burghs, and continued to represent that constituency until he resigned, on the 4th of March, 1840. He was Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Cromarty from 1833 until his death, and Deputy-Lieutenant of Ross-shire.

He married, in 1813, Isabella, youngest daughter of William Cunninghame of Lainshaw, Ayrshire (she died on 15th December, 1878), with issue—

1. Robert Bruce Æneas, his heir and successor.
2. Henry Dunning Macleod, M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, Barrister-at-Law. He was born on the 31st of March, 1821, and was educated at Eton, and Cambridge University, where, at Trinity College, he graduated in

mathematical honours in 1843. He is a distinguished writer on Political Economy, having devoted himself especially to that science as it affects Banking and Finance. In 1855 appeared his first work, *The Theory and Practice of Banking*. In 1858 this was followed by his *Elements of Political Economy*; and, in 1875, he published an enlarged and improved edition of this work, under the title of *The Principles of Economical Philosophy*, a work of which M. Michel Chevalier, by far the most distinguished Professor of Political Economy in Europe, wrote that it served him "as the guide to all the Philosophy of his teaching in the College de France." In 1863 he issued a *Dictionary of Political Economy*. In 1867 the Royal Commission, composed, among others, of Lord Chancellor Cranworth, Lord Cairns, Lord Westbury, Lord Selborne, Lord Hatherley, and Lord Penzance, issued by the Government to prepare a Digest of the Law, did Mr. Macleod the distinguished honour of choosing him, after a keen competition among the leading members of the English Bar, to prepare the Digest of the Law of Bills of Exchange. In 1876 he published *The Elements of Banking*. In 1878 appeared his *Economics for Beginners*. These and other learned works secured the commendations of all the leading legal, political economy, and philosophical authorities of his time, and have obtained for their author a world wide reputation as one of the ablest and very highest authorities on the subjects with which they deal; and some of them have been translated into Russian, French, and other European languages. Mr. Macleod is an Honorary Member of the Juridical Society of Palermo; and of the Sicilian Society of Political Economy; Corresponding Member of the Political Economy Society of Paris; and of the Royal Academy of Jurisprudence and Legislation of Madrid. He married on the 18th of August, 1853, Elizabeth Mackenzie (who died on the 14th of August, 1885), daughter of H. J. Cameron, formerly Provost of Dingwall, with issue—(1) Roderick Henry, born on the 27th of June, 1854. He came out third in the Indian Civil Service Examina-

tion, and is now Magistrate and Collector in the North West Provinces of Bengal. (2) Henry C. Crichton, a clergyman, born on the 20th of June, 1857. He was educated at Christ Hospital and gained a Scholarship at Balliol College, Oxford. (3) Keith William Bruce, born on the 30th of October, 1865. In 1888, he gained a place by open competition in the Ceylon Civil Service. (4) Liebe, Principal Clerk in the Postal Order Department of the Post Office. (5) Mary; (6) Elizabeth, who married Frank Lauder, Collector and Magistrate in the Straits Settlements; and (7) Liliās, who died unmarried.

3. Margaret, who married the Baron de Virte de Rathsamhausen of Ripafratta, near Pisa, Italy, and inherited Sandridge Park, Devon, under the will of her uncle, Lord Asburton.

4. Elizabeth, residing in Florence, Italy, unmarried.

5. Anna Maria, who married John Wilson of Seacroft Hall, Leeds, Yorkshire, with issue.

Roderick died on the 13th of March, 1853, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

V. ROBERT BRUCE ÆNEAS MACLEOD, fifth of Cadboll, commander, Royal Navy. He was also Deputy-Lieutenant of the county of Ross, and Vice-Lieutenant of Cromarty. Born on the 10th of May, 1818, he married, on the 5th of March, 1857, Helen Augusta, daughter of Sir John Pollard Willoughby, Baronet, of Baldon House, Oxford, with issue—

1. Roderick Willoughby, his heir and successor.

2. Torquil, Lieutenant in the Royal Navy.

3. Norman Cranstoun, attending the University.

4. Edith Eliza, who died in infancy, on the 30th of April, 1860.

5. Cicely Julia.

6. Ethel Grace, who, in 1888, married William Edward Thomas Bolitho, son of William Bolitho of Polwithen.

7. Olivia Ellen.

He died in 1888, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

VI. RODERICK MACLEOD, sixth and present Macleod

of Cadboll, born on the 29th of May, 1858. He is a Captain in the 79th Regiment, Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders, and is at present Adjutant of that regiment at Inverness.

## THE MACLEODS OF MORVEN.

IT has been found impossible to trace the descent of this distinguished modern family from any of the Chiefs of Macleod or to show their original connection with any of the leading branches of the family. Its members have, however, made for themselves a place, not only in the history of the Clan, but in the annals of their country, second to no other family of the name. Several of them have distinguished themselves in literature, in science, and in the Church. And this has been fully acknowledged by the Sovereign, by the Universities, and by other learned institutions throughout the country, in the number of Royal favours, honours, and academic distinctions, which have been so suitably and deservedly conferred upon many of the Macleods of Morven.

The first of the family of whom we can find any trace was Donald Macleod, tacksman of Swordale, in the parish of Duirinish, Isle of Skye, and armourer to Norman Macleod, XIX. of Macleod. According to the current tradition among his descendants, Donald came to Skye from the Black Isle, where he was born early in the seventeenth century. The general idea in Skye is that his ancestors came originally from Assynt, and this is likely enough, when it is kept in mind how closely connected with that district was the Earl of Cromarty of Donald's time, and his lordship's connection by marriage with the Macleods of Dunvegan. On the other hand, it is equally probable that Donald's father may have accompanied the young Chief of Macleod and his mother to the Black Isle, where Norman, XIX. of Macleod, is said to have spent a considerable period of his minority, and that the son may

have returned with him to Dunvegan when he became of age and took possession of the patrimonial estates in Skye and Harris, in which he was infeft in 1731 and 1732. [See pp. 122-123].

Norman Macleod's connection with and residence in the Black Isle came about thus. Norman Macleod, XVIII. of Macleod, married Anne Fraser, second daughter of Hugh, eleventh Lord Lovat. He died soon after; Norman, XIX. of Macleod, his only child, being born after his father's death. The widow married, as her second husband, Peter Fotheringham of Powrie, and, as her third husband, John, second Earl of Cromarty. It is said that her son Norman, XIX. of Macleod, resided with her first husband, at Powrie, and afterwards at Cromarty, during his minority. In these circumstances, the probabilities are that Donald Macleod's father may have followed mother and son to the Black Isle, and that Donald, who was so proficient in his business of smith and sword-maker, accompanied his Chief to Skye when Norman succeeded to his estates. Donald then got a tack of Swordale, or, as it is sometimes called, "Swordland," a most appropriate name for a farm tenanted by Macleod's armourer and sword-maker. In addition to his duties as armourer, Macleod, who is still spoken of in Skye as "An Gobhainn Mor"—descriptive of his size, as well as of his position in his profession—was appointed manager of several of his Chief's farms in Skye and Harris.

On the evening of the 20th of August, 1745, the day on which Prince Charles unfurled his standard at Glenfinnan, several gentlemen of the name of Macleod arrived upon the scene and offered their services, according to Chambers [p. 437], "expressing great indignation at the defection of their Chief, and proposing to return to Skye and raise all the men they could." Cameron, in his *History and Traditions of the Isle of Skye*, p. 100, summarises this paragraph, and adds—"Macleod of Swordland engaging to take the fort of Bernera in Glenelg and to bring a hundred men to the assistance of Charles, an



engagement he was not able to perform," with all the influence of his Chief against him.

Donald Macleod, of Swordale, had a brother Neil, a minister, who, in 1747, through the influence of Norman, XIX. of Macleod, and President Forbes of Culloden, was favoured by the Duke of Gordon for the parish of Laggan. The Rev. Mr. Neil was Macleod's Chaplain to the Forces during the Rising of 1745. On the 18th of December, 1746, Macleod writes from London to President Forbes asking his influence in favour of the reverend gentleman's appointment to this parish. "You may remember," the writer says, "he was of the Church Militant, and attended me in my expedition eastward, and stayed with the men constantly till they were sent home, and preached sound doctrine, and really was zealous and serviceable." Neil was not successful. The "Call" in his favour was only signed by four persons, two of whom were reputed papists, and the Presbytery unanimously declined to sustain it. He, however, continued for some time as an itinerant preacher in the parish, and died in 1780. He married and had issue (besides a daughter Mary, who lived at Tobermory until 1852), a son, Alexander Macleod, who also became a minister, and, in 1792, emigrated to New York, where he died in 1833. Alexander was also married, and had a son—the Rev. John Neil Macleod, D.D., for many years a well-known Presbyterian minister in New York, where he was still alive in 1852.

During Donald's official visits to Harris he became acquainted with, and afterwards married, Anne, daughter of Kenneth Campbell, of Scalpa, and sister of Colonel Donald Campbell, of the H.E.I.C.S., subsequently proprietor of Glensaddell, Kintyre. Another brother of Donald's wife was John Campbell, father of the Rev. Donald Campbell, D.D., minister of Kilninver, whose son, by Mary, daughter of John Macleod, IX. of Raasay, was the Rev. John Macleod Campbell, D.D., so well known as the subject of the Row Heresy Case.

By Anne Campbell of Scalpa, Donald had issue—

1. Norman, who carried on the representation of the

2. John, who died young, unmarried.

3. Donald, of the H.E.I.C.S., who died without issue.

4. Kenneth, who married Margaret, eldest daughter of Dr. Murdoch Macleod, of Eyre, with issue—the Rev. Norman Macleod, late Free Church minister of North Uist, who married Julia, daughter of Dr. Alexander Macleod, the Doctor Bàn of North Uist, with issue—a family of twelve children. [See MACLEODS OF EYRE.]

5. Mary, who married the Rev. Malcolm Macleod, minister of Snizort, with issue. [See MACLEODS OF RAASAY, p. 374.]

6. Margaret, who married Hector Maclean, tacksman of Vatten (who died on the 17th July, 1781), with issue.

Donald Macleod was succeeded, as representative of the family, by his eldest son,

II. THE REV. NORMAN MACLEOD, who was born in 1745. He spent most of his earlier years with his mother's relations in Scalpa, and in 1760, at the age of fifteen, he proceeded to the University of Aberdeen, where he was placed under the care of Roderick Macleod, Professor of Philosophy, and afterwards Principal of King's College, in that city. [See MACLEODS OF TALISKER, p. 232.] After completing his Arts course in Aberdeen, Norman entered the Divinity Hall, Edinburgh. He was for some time Tutor to General Norman, XX. of Macleod, who, at the age of eighteen, succeeded to the family estates on the death of his grandfather in 1772. On the 21st of April, 1771, he was licensed as a minister of the Gospel by the Presbytery of Skye. On the recommendation of his uncle, Colonel Donald Campbell of Glensaddel, he was afterwards presented by the Duke of Argyll to the parish of Morven, of which he was duly ordained minister on the 23rd of November, 1775.

On the 22nd of July, 1777, he married Jean, daughter of John Morrison of Achnaba, Morven, son of the Rev. William Morrison, Chaplain to the Duchess of Argyll, by

his wife, Jessie Cameron of Glendessaray. John Morrison's wife, Mrs. Macleod's mother, was Jessie, daughter of John Campbell, of Barnicarry, by his wife, Grace, daughter of MacNeil of Colonsay. By this lady, Norman Macleod had sixteen children, of whom only three married, and two left issue—

1. Donald, born 27th February, 1782, and died young.
2. Norman, the future "Caraid nan Gaidheal," and of whom presently.

3. Donald, born 28th of January, 1798, and died unmarried.

4. The Rev. Dr. John Macleod, who succeeded his father as minister of Morven. He was born on the 31st of March, 1801, and was educated at Campbelton, and Glasgow University. On the 5th of November, 1823, he was licensed for the ministry by the Presbytery of Mull, and, on the death of his father, in April, 1824, was presented by George William, Duke of Argyll, to the parish of Morven, of which he was ordained minister on the 9th of September in that year, as his father's successor. In September, 1842, he was appointed clerk to the Synod of Argyle; and, on the 19th of February, 1845, the University of Glasgow, his Alma Mater, conferred upon him the degree of D.D. In the same year he was appointed, along with his distinguished nephew, the Rev. Dr. Norman Macleod, of the Barony Parish, Glasgow, and several others, to visit the churches in the British North American colonies. For the manner in which they performed their duty on this occasion, they received the thanks of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in May 1846. On the 27th of May, 1851, John was elected Moderator of the General Assembly. He was also appointed Dean of the Most Noble Order of the Thistle, and Dean of the Chapel-Royal. He contributed extensively to his brother Norman's Gaelic periodicals—some indeed of the best "Comhradhs" that appeared in them. He was the tallest man we ever saw—about six feet seven inches—with a powerful athletic frame. Of all the Gaelic preachers

we have ever heard, he was the purest and most idiomatic speaker—not a single word nor a trace of English idiom to mar his intellectual and rhetorical gifts, as we on one occasion closely listened to, his powerful and moving eloquence, in his small church, amid the scene of the evicting desolations, which he regretted so much, at Lochaline.

Dr. John married, in 1834, Margaret, daughter of Donald Maclean of Borreray and Drimnin (by his wife, Jessie, daughter of the famous Donald Macleod of Bernera, by his third wife, Margaret Macleod of Greshornish), with issue—(1) the Rev. Norman Macleod, minister of St. Stephen's Parish Church, Edinburgh, who married Helen Augusta, daughter of John Colquhoun of Luss, without issue. (2) The Rev. John Macleod, D.D., minister of Govan, Glasgow, who married Alexa, daughter of General Duncan Macpherson, of Burgie, with issue—John Norman; Duncan Archibald; William Arthur; Charles Patrick; Norman Augustus; Alexa Evelyn; and Margaret Eleanor. (3) Jessie Ann; and (4) Jane Mary, both of whom predeceased their father, unmarried. The Rev. Dr. John of Morven died in 1882; the combined ministry of the father and son in that one parish extending over the extraordinary period of 105 years.

5. Jane, who married John Neil Argyll Maxwell, son of James Maxwell, of Aros, Mull, without issue.

Norman's other daughters were, Ann, Janet, Ann, Margaret, Grace, Archie, Elizabeth, Jane, Mary, Janet, Catherine, and Archie.

The Rev. Norman died at Morven on the 5th of March, 1824, after a ministry of forty-nine years. The *Scots Magazine* has the following obituary notice of him:—"At the manse of Morven, on the 5th of March, the Rev. Norman Macleod, minister of that parish. The memory of this excellent man will long be held in fond remembrance. Revered and beloved by his heritors and parishioners during the long course of his ministry among them, universally respected by a wide circle of acquaintances, and

endeared to all who knew him by his many amiable virtues, he died very generally and deeply lamented in the 80th year of his age, and 50th of his ministry, 1824."

He was succeeded, as minister of the parish, by his second surviving son, the Rev. Dr. John Macleod of Morven, and as representative of the family by his eldest surviving son,

III. THE REV. NORMAN MACLEOD, born on the 2nd of December, 1783. During the summer of 1799 he paid a three months' visit to his Chief, General Macleod, XX. of Macleod, his father's former pupil, on which occasion was fulfilled "Coinneach Odhar's" famous prediction, given at length, with the details of the manner of its fulfilment, in Dr. Macleod's own words, under THE MACLEODS OF DUNVEGAN, at pp. 112-114. In November following, in the sixteenth year of his age, he went to the University of Glasgow, and in 1804 entered the Edinburgh Divinity Hall. In 1806, he was licensed by the Presbytery of Mull, and was soon after appointed Assistant in the parish of Kilbrandon. In June, 1808, he was ordained to the first charge of Campbelton, where he continued until 1825, when he was translated to the Parish Church of Campsie, near Glasgow. In 1836 he was elected minister of the Gaelic Church of St. Columba, Glasgow, and in the same year was made a D.D., and chosen Moderator of the General Assembly. He was also appointed Dean of the Chapel Royal, and one of Her Majesty's Chaplains, in which capacity he preached before the Queen and the Prince Consort at Blair-Athole, during their visit to Scotland in 1842.

It is, however, in connection with his various Gaelic publications that the Rev. Dr. Norman Macleod, of Campsie, and St. Columba, became so endeared to, and that his memory will ever continue green among Highlanders all over the world. His first appearance in this way was in his Gaelic "Collection" for use in Highland schools. Then followed *Leabhar nan Cnoc*, or the The Mountain Sketch Book, containing some of the most amusing and at the

same time instructive reading in the Gaelic language. In 1829 he started *An Teachdaire Gaelach*, or the Highland Messenger, which continued for two years. In 1840 he issued *Cuairtear nan Gleann*, which lasted for two years and seven months. He afterwards contributed articles to *Fear Taghaich nam Beann*, started in 1848, by his son-in-law, the late Archibald Clerk, LL.D., minister of Kilmallie. By his articles and inimitable translations in these monthly periodicals, he made a name for himself in Gaelic literature, which will never be forgotten so long as that language is read or studied. In addition to what may be described more particularly as his Gaelic literary labours, the Rev. Norman had a hand in the preparation of the Lexicon so well-known as Macleod and Dewar's Gaelic and English Dictionary, and his name appears on the title-page as one of its editors. He also prepared a metrical version of the Psalms of David for the use of the Protestant Church of Ireland, in which he had the assistance of that distinguished Irish scholar, Thaddeus Connellan; and, when the work was completed, it was dedicated, by His Majesty's special permission, to William IV., and was cordially received by the highest ecclesiastical authorities and the most erudite Celtic scholars, both in the English and Irish Churches.

During the famine of 1836-37, he visited England, and addressed several large and influential meetings in the principal towns most successfully, for the purpose of creating an interest in, and securing support for, his famishing countrymen. In 1847, while another famine, in consequence of the potato disease, was raging in the Highlands, he was deputed by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, along with his brother, the Rev. Dr. John Macleod, minister of Morven, and the Rev. William Ross, Tobermory, to visit Skye and the Outer Hebrides, to inquire into the unsatisfactory spiritual state of the adherents of the Church of Scotland in those districts, brought about in consequence of the Disruption.

The Rev. Dr. Norman, who had secured for himself



the enviable sobriquet of "Caraid nan Gaidheal,"—pre-eminently "The Highlanders' Friend," married, on the 2nd of April, 1811, Agnes, daughter of James Maxwell, Aros, Mull, chamberlain to the Duke of Argyll, with issue, eleven children—

1. Norman, afterwards of the Barony Church, Glasgow.
2. James Maxwell Macleod, who died in 1833, in his eighteenth year.

3. John Neil Argyll Maxwell Macleod, born on the 29th of October, 1820. He married, first, Anne Irvine, daughter of Admiral Campbell of Barbreck, with issue—(1) Isabella Campbell, who married John Macleod Campbell of the Bombay Civil Service, second son of the Rev. Dr. John Macleod Campbell, of Row, with issue—John, and Anne. (2) Agnes Hamilton Maxwell, unmarried. He married, secondly, in 1880, Leila, daughter of the late James Robert Dennistoun, Glasgow, without issue. He was a banker for several years at Kirkcaldy, and is now proprietor of Glen-saddell, Kintyre.

4. Sir George Husband Baird Macleod, M.D., born on the 21st of September, 1828. He is Regius Professor of Surgery in the University of Glasgow, and Surgeon to the Queen in Scotland. He received the honour of knighthood on the occasion of Her Majesty's Jubilee in 1888. He married, in 1859, Sophia, daughter of Henry Houldsworth, merchant, Glasgow, with issue—(1) Norman Maxwell, born in 1861; (2) William Houldsworth, born in 1863; (3) James Torquil Magnus, born in 1874; (4) George Ranald, born in 1883; (5) Mary Trueman; and (6) Sophia Helen.

5. The Rev. Donald Macleod, D.D., minister of Park Parish Church, Glasgow, and one of the Queen's Chaplains for Scotland. He was born on the 18th of March, 1831. He is the author of the life of his brother, the late Rev. Dr. Norman, of the Barony Parish; and has, since the death of that brother in 1872, edited *Good Words*. He married, in 1868, Isabella, daughter of James Anderson, Port-Glasgow, with issue—(1) Norman, born in 1872;

(2) Donald; (3) James; (4) Kenneth Olaus; and (5) Agnes.

6. Jessie, who married the late Archibald Clerk, L.L.D., minister of Kilmallie, with issue—(1) Norman, M.D., Rothesay; (2) Agnes, who married John Robertson, of Golden Grove, Adelaide, without issue. (3) Margaret Carmichael; (4) Jessie, who married C. Cunningham Glass, St. Andrews; (5) Grace, who married the Rev. Alister Cameron, minister of Sleat; (6) Annie; and (7) Jane.

7. Jean Morrison, who died unmarried in 1886.

8. Mary, who died in 1836, in her eighteenth year.

9. Anne Elizabeth who died in 1840, in her eighteenth year.

10. Grace Morrison, now residing at Row, Dumbarton-shire, unmarried.

11. Robina Catherine, also residing at Row, unmarried.

Dr. Norman, "Caraid nan Gaidheal," died in 1862, when he was succeeded, as representative of the family, by his even more distinguished son,

IV. THE REV. NORMAN MACLEOD, D.D. He was born on the 3rd of June, 1812, and educated at the University of Glasgow. He was first appointed minister of Loudon, afterwards of Dalkeith, and then of the Barony Parish Church, Glasgow. He had the degree of D.D. conferred upon him by his University, and was elected Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1869. He was one of Her Majesty's Chaplains, Dean of the Chapel-Royal, and Dean of the Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle. For full particulars of his noble life and ministry, and of his literary labours, we must refer the reader to his *Life*, written by his brother, Dr. Donald, the present editor of *Good Words*, a periodical of which he was himself the first editor, and continued to be so until his death.

He married, in 1851, Catherine Anne, daughter of William Mackintosh of Geddes, Inverness-shire, with issue—

1. Norman, who married Jessie, daughter of Hugh Gifford, Liverpool, with issue—Norman, Eric, and Norma.

He went into commercial life in Liverpool in 1868, and afterwards emigrated to America.

2. John Mackintosh, who, on the 4th of January, 1888, married Edith, daughter of the late Joshua Fielden, of Redhill, Surrey.

3. William Mackintosh.

4. Jane.

5. Annie Catherine, who, in October, 1888, married James Wilson, of the Bengal Civil Service.

6. Agnes Mackintosh,

7. Mary.

8. Elizabeth.

Dr. Norman Macleod of the Barony, died in 1872, and was buried at Campsie.

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